19 JUN 1962

VILLAGE LEVEL WORKERS

THEIR WORK AND RESULT DEMONSTRATIONS

E. 13

By

D. C. Dubey,

Dr. Willis A. Sutton,

and

Dr. Gladys Gallup

132

National Institute of Community Development

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

634

Ex. 13

VILLAGE LEVEL WORKERS

THEIR WORK AND RESULT DEMONSTRATIONS

by

D. C. Dubey

Dr. Willis A. Sutton, Jr.

and

Dr. Gladys Gallup

National Institute of Community Development,
MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION

PREFACE

THE National Institute of Community Development was set up to stimulate thinking, through high level Orientation Courses, in key personnel engaged in Community Development and develop adequate understanding of the administrative and sociological aspects of the programme. The Institute also aims at promoting fundamental and applied social research on themes having a direct or indirect bearing on planned change. These two aspects are being developed in an integrated way. The research programme, through its analytical studies, imparts realism to the Orientation Courses by maintaining a continuous flow of empirical data from the field; while the discussions organised as a part of the Orientation Courses throw up many significant problems for research. The publications of the Institute are intended to support both these major parts of its activity It is hoped that they will be useful also to planners, administrators and social scientists.

The present study which consists of two parts—work of Village Level Workers and Result Demonstrations—was conducted jointly by the authors under the auspices of the National Institute. The services of Dr. Willis A. Sutton and Dr. Gladys Gallup were obtained through the Ford Foundation; Shri D. C. Dubey joined them from the research staff of the Institute. The meticulous analysis of the work of fifteen Village Level Workers is valuable not only for its illustrative content, but also for the hypotheses it offers for testing in future research. The case studies on "Result Demonstration" focus attention on the central probelm of the adequacy of technical content and provide practical insights for administrative action to improve the programme as well as a framework for field workers to ensure successful demonstrations. It would be rash to form broad generalisations from the limited number of cases studied, but the warnings contained in them are sufficiently serious to merit attention. That the studies on "Result Demonstration" have resulted in a close analysis of the problems involved and have led to comprehensive action to improve the programme is heartening.

National Institute of Community Development,
Mussoorie, India.

S. CHAKRAVARTI,
Principal

CONTENTS

		Page
	Introduction	i
	Acknowledgements	iii

SECTION 1 : *The Role Players*

CASES

1.	Linking Village and Block	3
2.	Meets the Expectations of All	16
3.	Factions Surmounted	22
4.	Many Methods and Ample Results	30
5.	Cutting Red Tape	38

SECTION 2 : *The Role Rejectors*

6.	I'm Fed up, Just a Servant	47
7.	Unconcerned	56
8.	Indifference and the unknown	62

SECTION 3 : *The Role Seekers*

9.	I Carry out Orders	73
10.	Obedience and Chance Contacts	78
11.	Music of the Harmonium	84
12.	Complacency and a Golden Tongue	88
13.	Needs a Helping Hand	94
14.	Disillusioned	101
15.	To Serve..and not Waste a Minute	107

Emerging Trends and Patterns

A.	VLWs	117
B.	Result Demonstrations	123
C.	Some Suggestions on uses of the Study	131
	A Note on Methodology	137
	Interview Guides	147

INTRODUCTION

This document presents fifteen case studies of village level workers made by members of the research staff of the National Institute of Community Development for Central Ministry of Community Development & Cooperation. One of the first steps in the Institute's research programme, the studies were initiated in October 1959 and completed in July 1960.

The cases seek to portray the chief work patterns and major characteristics of each of fifteen VLWs selected from eight Community Development Blocks in Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, and Rajasthan. In each case special attention is given to a description and brief analysis of the VLW's best result demonstration.

Consideration of the completed cases led to the conclusion that each case could be classed in one of three broad types with regard to work orientation or approach. Some VLWs clearly knew what they were about, brought the block and village into mutually helpful communication and thus effectively linked the resources of the national programme to their circle's needs. These we have termed the "Role Players" (five cases, Section 1). Some fail to comprehend or to serve these functions even in a minimal capacity. These are called "Role Rejectors" (three cases, Section 2). Finally in the third category are those who perceive their function in part and who try with some but clearly incomplete success to execute it. These are named the "Role Seakers" (seven cases, Section 3).

The chapter, "Emerging Patterns and Trends" does two things in an effort to bring out the broad meanings inherent in the cases. First it describes the typical characteristics of each of the above three VLW types. Secondly it analyses the 14 result demonstrations* found in the cases and develops a prototype from the most common characteristics of all of them.

A brief "Note on Methodology" describes the origin and methodology of the studies to which is appended copies of the interview guides.

The cases do not purport to be full portrayals of all aspects of either the life or work of these 15 VLWs. This would have required different methods and a far greater investment of time. Their basic purpose is to describe some of each VLW's major activities in a suffi-

*Because the VLW in Case Number II had been serving only a few months, no complete demonstration could be investigated.

ciently full context that the dynamic reality of some of his work with both block and village may be grasped. Other purposes are to derive from these concrete descriptions some of the main characteristics of each man's work and to show the more important attitudes, feelings and relationships which condition and influence this work.

To do this each case opens with a brief resume of the personal background and work situation of the VLW. Next the major activities and a result demonstration of each gram sevak are described. These narrations, which constitute the largest part of each case, seek not only to reconstruct the sequence of actions of the VLW in connection with each project but also to give them greater reality by showing their place within the broader forces of which they are a part. Each description seeks to include such factors as initiations, legitimization, transference to villagers, methods used, and difficulties encountered. Each case ends with a short analysis of the VLW's work methods, attitudes and contributions to the programme.

Information for the cases was gathered by the research team* in personal interviews with each VLW, each of five or six villagers of his circle, and each of four to five of his block superiors. Thus while the focus of attention was the VLW and his work, each case represents a synthesis of information from the VLW himself and eight to ten others both "above" and "below" him in his work.

One of the roles of the research wing of the National Institute of Community Development is to gather, analyze and present facts about the programme in such a form that workers may evaluate their own work. This is the spirit in which this report is submitted. It should not be interpreted as critical of anyone. All names used are pseudonyms.

The cases have been prepared with one goal—to provide some materials useful to the community development program. It is hoped they may serve VLWs and training centres as well as the long range goals of continuing research. To the VLWs, they may provide a more objective view of their own work. To training centres, illustrative materials to stimulate discussion. Future research may be more easily fruitful because of the clarification of variables through the VLW types and result demonstration factors.

---

*Comprised of the authors and, during October through December 1959 Dr. Gladys Gallup, Director of Research and Training, Extension Division, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. A general Statement of the approach and methods used in the research is formed in the methodological appendix.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors wish to express appreciation first to their colleague, Dr. Gladys Gallup, Director of Research and Training, Division of Extension, United States Department of Agriculture, for her valuable assistance in the early stages of the study. Though Dr. Gallup could not participate in the writing of the report and is not responsible for its present content, she worked as Ford Foundation Consultant with the National Institute more than full time on the study from October through December 1959 and contributed greatly to its formative stages and to the field work for nine of the fifteen cases.

Three others have worked often and long with the authors in this venture. To Shri S. Chakravarti, I.C.S., Principal, Dr. V. Nath, I.A.S., Vice-Principal and Director of Research, both of the National Institute of Community Development, and to Dr. Douglas Ensminger, Representative in India of the Ford Foundation, we owe special thanks for both professional guidance and administrative support. The cordial collaboration among the Central Ministry of Community Development & Cooperation, the Ford Foundation, and the National Institute contributed greatly to the studies.

We are also indebted to the Development Commissioners of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan for their generous co-operation in making arrangements for our field work.

To the staff, the VLWs, and the villagers of each of the eight blocks visited, we acknowledge a great debt. They talked with us freely and for long hours, arranged for village visits and fitted themselves unselfishly into a frequently tight schedule of interviews. Without their warm co-operation the data could not have been gathered.

Lastly, for helpful discussions and friendly encouragement we say thanks to our friends Dr. Carl C. Taylor, Dr. Herbert Lionberger, and Dr. Paul Leagens, consultants with the Ford Foundation in India.

SECTION I

The Role Players

CASE 1

LINKING VILLAGE AND BLOCK

MR. Ram Lal has been a village level worker since 1953, and has been posted in the same block and circle since October 1956. He has had only one transfer. Before becoming a VLW, he had worked as a farmer for about 15 years, had been a teacher for one year, and had served in the Department of Agriculture for one and a half years. He has an education up to middle standard. His father was a farmer and he was reared in a village of about 4,000 people. He is a Brahmin, is 39 years of age, and owns in his own right 10 acres of his father's original 40 acres of land.

Shri Ram Lal is married and has two children. His wife, also reared in a village, lives in his headquarters residence with him for three or four months of the year. The rest of the time she lives with his parents about 60 miles away.

In 1952-53 he took the regular six months training course for VLWs. He felt this course was particularly good in teaching him how to approach and contact village people. He participated in three other shorter periods of training: two refresher courses of one month each in 1957-1958 and one three months session in agriculture in 1959.

He is responsible for helping in the development of some ten different villages. This circle has a total population of about 21,000 people. Five of the villages are less than 1,000 in population whereas two are over 5,000 and three are between 1,000 and 3,000. About eighty per cent. of the people, he says, are farmers and the other 20 per cent. are labourers or artisans. The chief crops in order of importance in his circle are: sugarcane, hot chilli-pepper, cotton, and wheat. Jats constitute the predominant caste group in his circle. He finds that Jats respect Brahmins and so his caste helps him in his work.

His headquarters village, Rampur, has a population of about 3,000 people. It has a post office, but is four miles from a pucca road, 10 miles from block headquarters and 40 miles from district headquarters. He makes on an average about five or six night halts each month. He can reach all his villages on cycle all year round. He spends about two hours each day on the road.

His circle possesses only a few basic social institutions. There are seven panchayats and eight cooperatives. In all ten villages there are only five primary schools and only one secondary school. Other institutions are also sparse. There is he reports only one youth club, one mahila mandal, two community listening sets (radio), and no health facilities. There are no maternity centres and no trained midwives. He himself carries a first aid box. He said the chief problems in his villages were land fragmentation, floods, and the lack of health and medical facilities for men or animals.

Shri Ram Lal was asked to indicate the five activities on which he had spent the most time during the past fortnight. In order of time spent those were fertilizer demonstration plots, street paving, a special celebration, compost and road work. The first three were investigated in some detail.

Fertilizer Demonstration Plots

At the previous block fortnightly meeting the agriculture extension officer told the VLWs that they should arrange demonstration plots of fertilizer and that each would be given free fertilizer for this purpose. Ram Lal was allotted 112 pounds for use on wheat. He said, however it was ten miles from block headquarters to his headquarters and since he could not use the block vehicle, he had no means of transporting the fertilizer.

When he got back to his village after the meeting, he talked with the people at five different choupals. In each case, he mentioned he had 112 lbs of fertilizer which he could supply anyone free who would go and get it and use it in a demonstration. He received two kinds of reactions. Some farmers said they did not want to fool with this. If they did, they would have to follow his instructions at every stage of their work and they did not want to be bothered. Others said, "oh, why not use it." From among all men at the five choupals, two finally came to him and indicated they would like to have the fertilizer and were willing to go and get it. He gave each man half the free fertilizer. They were well educated farmers; he had worked closely with them before. Each had laid fertilizer demonstrations at their own costs the year before.

It had taken the VLW about a full day's work to get the transport arranged. The fertilizer was first brought to his house. After a day or so he asked the farmers when they were planning to sow their wheat. On the day indicated he went to their fields and laid out the demonstration plots. Five or six neighbour farmers gathered to watch. They asked if they too could have free fertilizer.

Street Paving

This activity also involved a good portion of Ram Lal's time during the previous 15 days, but its origin was in work done by villagers of Piplod on their street during the previous fiscal year. The villagers had partially completed paving a street using their own resources, but they expected to be reimbursed by the block. Because of a lapse of time or other administrative problems, money had not been available and the villagers were naturally upset. The Panchayat had sent four resolutions to the block requesting reimbursement, but without any encouragement. The VLW had talked with the BDO several times about the problem and had also asked the block overseer to come and talk to the villagers about it.

During the fortnight immediately past Ram Lal again encouraged the panchayat to petition the block for reimbursement. After further urging the overseer did come to the village and with the VLW, discussed the situation. He pointed out to the villagers that since the gutters of the street were not laid, one heavy rain might undermine the walls of some of the houses and therefore the work should be completed before the next rains. He then estimated the cost of completing the gutters for them. After this meeting, the VLW again urged the overseer to take an interest in this and to try to see that the panchayat's request was expedited so the people could receive redress. Apparently the overseer did take an interest. At any rate the gram sevak was shortly informed that the block was giving 1,000 Rs. for the work. But, he was also told that if the money was not spent in the current fiscal year, the grant again would lapse.

Shri Ram Lal then went to the villagers and told them the grant had been authorised, but that it would have to be spent soon. He urged the people to proceed with work, warning them that if they waited, they might not only lose the grant but that, some of the houses might suffer great damage from the rains if the gutters were not completed. The people then approved carrying out the work.

The VLW then told the villagers where they could purchase the needed cement and glazed tiles of good quality at low cost. They asked him to go with them to make the purchases. When he told them he could not take the time, they made the purchases themselves. They then asked his help in securing the service of a mason. He told them of a mason whose work he had seen and suggested they hire him. This they planned to do. This was the stage of the project at the time of the research.

Organizing a Cooperatives Celebration

This was initiated by the cooperatives extension officer at the previous fortnightly meeting. He had suggested to Ram Lal that since he had a large cooperative society in his headquarters village, he should hold there a celebration on Cooperatives Day, November 12. The BDO, the SEO and the Coop EO all reported they had worked with the VLW in planning this celebration. Several days after the fortnightly meeting Ram Lal got a number of the society's members together and suggested that they have the following day a celebration in honour of çooperatives. He said he offered a general plan for the programme and waited for their reactions. These were favourable. One person mentioned that they did not have a co-operative flag and the VLW told them he would get one. He also told them he hoped to get a few rupees from the block for the programme and proposed to use this to distribute sweets to the children. Contributions for this were also taken at the meeting.

After planning was completed, Shri Ram Lal reported he had a drummer go through the village and announce that a celebration would be held next day. The following day the programme lasted from about 9.30 until about 5.00. A progressive agriculturist presided. The secretary of the District Farmers' Association, the Headmaster of the School, the President of the Cooperative, the Ag EO, the Coop EO all made talks. The village children paraded and sang cooperative songs. Sweets were distributed. About 200 people were reported to have attended. The VLW thought it was a successful day.

Other Things Too

In addition to these major activities of the last fortnight Ram Lal was also asked, to indicate some of the other things that he worked on during past year. Four particular things had engaged his attention.

First he had worked at a number of different efforts in connection with the rabi campaign. But while this took much of his time and he knew of the general targets, he had no overall plan for the campaign and acknowledged that none of the families in his circle had agricultural production plans.

Some of his time during the year was taken on the organization of a sewing centre for women and a youth club. The SEO had helped with each of these projects. The VLW had also participated in the training of functional leaders during the year. He said that as a result of this training he found it easier to work with them.

A number of other aspects of his work should be noted. He had worked very hard with the cooperative society during the year on several projects. One was the construction of a building for storing seeds and crops. He had helped secure contributions for this building. He had also been active in increasing the membership of the society. In addition, largely through his efforts the cooperative society had presented two lakhs of rupees in small savings to the Divisional Commissioner at one of his visits. The VLW was reported to have "persuaded and persuaded people" in raising this amount. The president of the cooperative society also noted that Ram Lal had attended most of their meetings during the year and worked hard to get able people to take responsibility in the society.

Other work included getting some of his people to attend the World Agriculture Fair in Delhi in December and work with the village teacher on the celebration of Pt. Nehru's birthday. He had also helped the teacher get money from the block for carpets and books for the school library.

RESULT DEMONSTRATION: "EVERYTHING JUST RIGHT."

Shri Ram Lal had put on two result demonstrations during the previous rabi season. Both had had to do with fertilizer on wheat. The best one was on the land of one Mr. Balkishan. This farmer's land was adjacent to the village and he was an influential man with considerable "say" about village affairs. The VLW felt this demonstration was his best one because "the farmer was hard working and followed my advice and the soil was fertile and good."

The demonstration developed from instruction given by the agriculture extension officer to all the VLWs to arrange demonstrations during the rabi season to make people conscious of the advantages of the use of fertilizer. The purpose of this particular demonstration however, is somewhat confused. Shri Ram Lal reported that the main purpose was to show this farmer that "if you do everything just right, you will really have a good, high yield." He said the purpose was to see how much better the yield was when the ground was prepared properly, fertilizer administered properly in the right amounts and at the right time and when irrigation in right amounts was applied at the right time.

He also indicated that the demonstration had something to do with fertilizers, for he reported that the farmer had used "this" fertilizer before, but never in the right way. He said the demonstration involved the contention that Kissan was just as good as superphosphate. Since superphosphate was sometimes in short supply it was desired to get farmers to accept Kissan as an adequate substitute.

The demonstration did involve the comparison of three plots—one on which Kissan fertilizer was applied, one on which superphosphate was applied, and a third on which wheat was cultivated without any fertilizers. Balkishan indicated that he had been using superphosphate before the demonstration, but not Kissan.

After the meeting when the agriculture extension officer urged the VLWs to put on these demonstrations, the VLW said he talked with cultivators at various choupals about the fact that he would have some fertilizer for demonstrations. Again some people did not want to be bothered with following his directions and were not interested. But, after two or three days two people came to see him and indicated they would take the fertilizer and would accept his instructions. Shri Ram Lal laid a demonstration on the land of each of these men. One of these was Shri Balkishan.

About a week after Balkishan indicated he was willing to undertake the demonstration, Ram Lal got fertilizer from the block headquarters. When the land was prepared, the VLW administered the fertilizer before sowing. There were present at that time two or three neighbours. At sowing the VLW and the farmer were the only people present. Between sowing and harvesting Mr. Ram Lal visited the plot four or five times—twice with the farmer, once with the BDO and once with the agriculture EO. He said four or five other people may have been present at each of these visits.

The VLW was not there when the wheat was cut, but he had issued instructions to the farmer to keep the yields from the plots separate, and when wheat itself had been gathered, he came and weighed the produce from each plot. The agriculture EO was also present. It was found that "while on one (or two) of the plots the yield was four maunds per bigha, on "this" plot, it was five and a half maunds per bigha.*

Little was done about the demonstration after this. The VLW said simply that he turned his records over to the agriculture EO. He did report that Balkishan had spoken of the demonstration at the training camp for functional leaders and had urged other farmers there to use fertilizer. No other efforts were made to utilise the demonstration as a means of further education. The SEO reported he did not have a chance to show the demonstration to any farmer. The president of the cooperative stated that the demonstration had

*The report here is not clear. Though three plots are reported specifically to have been laid out, in the discussion of the harvesting no one mentioned more than two. Apparently the precise detail of the project escaped all informents at this point.

something to do with wheat and fertilizer, but he did not know what fertilizer. The secretary of coop also said he knew about the demonstration, but he could not remember what fertilizers were involved. Neither of these men had heard the VLW talk about the demonstration.

Balkishan did not remember the name of the fertilizer either, but he said he know its colour. He was using superphosphate. In spite of the demonstration he still felt this was best. He said nobody used the fertilizer demonstrated. Everyone felt superphosphate was preferable, but, he added, "they use it only on the poor soil. If they used superphosphate on good soil they would have such a bumper crop it would fall over before harvest."

Purposes and Practices

As an effort to stimulate the acceptance of an improved practice among village cultivators, this particular demonstration seems singularly ineffective. This is true in spite of its having a number of good features. Its being one of the only two demonstrations the VLW carried out should have made possible careful preparation and planning and effective use of it for education.

Indeed one of the strong points of the demonstration is the presence of some aspects of good planning. The VLW indicated he was attempting to arrange his demonstrations in such a fashion that he would have one on the land of at least one farmer in each of the *choupals* in his villages. In other words he recognised the need to place his demonstrations in such fashion that knowledge of them might spread easily through the informal social structures of the villagers.

Another strong point was the particular farmer used in the demonstration. Balkishan was a prominent farmer and was widely respected in his village. What he did would be watched closely by others.

Thirdly, the demonstration's location was reasonably advantageous. While it was not on a road, it was the first farm adjacent to the village and was accessible to many.

The technical aspects of the demonstration, seemed well handled also. The field was divided into three equal parts, the usual methods to be used on one, new methods and Kissan on one, and new methods and superphosphate on the third. Shri Ram Lal was aware also of the need for the farmer to follow carefully his

technical instructions. He reported that the fact the farmer had done so was one of the reasons he felt this was a good demonstration.

Finally, the yield had been dramatically greater in at least one of the plots, though just which one was not clear.

In spite of these strengths, the demonstration did not seem to accomplish any important objectives. Three factors seemed to contribute to this lack of effect and these constitute the primary weaknesses of the demonstration. In the first place, the purpose and achievements of the demonstration are confused. Neither the goal of demonstrating the great increase in yield when a number of different improved practices were utilized nor the goal of proving the effectiveness of Kissan compared with superphosphate was actually achieved. If the goal were the former, only the VLW was aware of it. No one else mentioned this purpose. On the other hand, if it were the latter, then certainly it failed. The demonstrator farmer emphasized that in spite of the demonstration he still felt superphosphate was better fertilizer and that everyone still used it. The other people who had heard something of the demonstration did not know what kind of fertilizer had been used at all. Thus, no one among those involved seems to have been convinced of anything as a result of the demonstration.

The second weakness is the lack of any educational effort. No attention was given to educating the people about the nature of the demonstration and what it meant. The VLW and the demonstrator farmer had different conceptions of the demonstration. No one mentioned anyone being asked to come to see the plots at any stage of the demonstration. Only a few people saw it even casually at any time. No one interviewed reported that the VLW had ever talked to them about the demonstration.

Furthermore, the gram sevak apparently did not know that Balkishan himself, was not convinced. There seemed to be an almost complete lack of awareness of this aspect of the demonstration on the part of the VLW. When asked if he would do anything differently or if he would do any additional things if he were again putting on this demonstration, the VLW answered simply, "No, I made it as perfect as I could."

The block staff was also unaware of the demonstration. Shri Ram Lal was acknowledged to be the best VLW in the block. He had placed only two demonstrations during the rabi season, and yet except for the agriculture EO, no one on the Block staff knew

anything about the demonstration. The SEO indicated that he had not had time to see the demonstration or do anything about it. The BDO had no knowledge of it. And even the agriculture EO, as far as could be learned, did not talk with any of the cultivators about the demonstration, and took no part in its planning.

That there had been no follow-up of the demonstration was proved when the demonstrator farmer Balkishan reported that he still felt superphosphate was the best fertilizer. His remark that people used superphosphate only on poor land for fear that its application on good land would cause the crop to fall before harvest seemed to constitute a real opportunity. But there was no indication that anyone had explored this idea with Balkishan or others.

Wide Contacts and Careful Effort

Ram Lal's activities have ranged far and wide. He has worked on many kinds of projects—agricultural, small savings, cooperatives, programme for women, for youths, as well as basic improvements such as those of streets, buildings, and library facilities. He has been interested in both educational and service type work. Indeed he has often been able to combine the two.

In considering how he worked, four general characteristics seem to stand out. The first is that he works with all types of people and in numerous types of social situations. He is not restricted in his work either to certain levels of people or to certain kinds of contacts. He had worked with leaders, with panchayats members, with the teacher and cooperative society president. He had worked with progressive farmers and with ordinary farmers. He had done work also with the untouchables, asking the panchayat extension officer at one point for help in solving some of their problems.

He used all the different sorts of social contacts available to him. He worked with organized groups—with the cooperatives, panchayats and the schools. He used meetings, having announcements made ahead about what was to be discussed. He also worked through informal and individual contacts, reporting discussions with individual farmers and numerous talks with people at their *choupals*.

Secondly, he knew how to work effectively with people. Ram Lal knew the people well. He knew and understood their religion

and their beliefs. He was tactful in dealing with persons and groups. Remaining aloof from the frictions of different groups, he always worked with everyone. He knew the value of a personal touch. The teacher reported the Gram Sevak always specifically invited him to his meetings.

He always allowed persons to whom he was presenting an idea a chance to react, to give him their ideas and suggestions. He arranged things so that villagers could discuss proposals and feel they had some part in deciding things which concerned them.

The importance of being careful about making promises was fully understood. He always tried to find out if he could make good on a promise before he gave it. The panchayat EO recounted a time when Ram Lal had asked him about the possibility of funds for a sewing centre before taking up the idea with the villagers.

The third characteristic of the way he worked was his use of planning. He worked carefully. He kept an idea in mind about how to proceed and he moved his work along in accordance with it. This is not to say that he planned fully or entirely adequately, but it is to emphasize that his contacts with people were more than mere happenstace; they followed some pattern or sequence. His asking the Panchayat EO about funds for the sewing centre ahead of his contacts with the villagers is an illustration. The same characteristic is to be noted in his long-continued efforts to interest the block overseer in the street-paving problems of the villagers, and in his effort to so arrange his demonstrations that there would be one for each *choupal*. Further though he was sometimes irritated at the number of reports he had to make he acknowledged that some helped him to keep up with his work so he could tell what he had done and what else needed to be done.

Finally, his work showed how effective he was in facilitating communication both ways between the block and the villager. He took the villagers "story" to the block even when it implied some criticism of block policy. He told the villagers the block's difficulties even when the explanations were not popular among them. Thus not infrequently Ram Lal told both the villagers and the block staff things they did not particularly want to hear. In regard to street paving, he had taken a stand with the block for the villagers insisting that, even though funds to repay these people were not easily available, they should be found because otherwise the confidence in the program of these villagers would

be lost and it would then be particularly hard to work with them again. The BDO indicated that Mr. Ram Lal sometimes exerted considerable pressure for the things he felt the block should do. It was pressure the BDO sometimes found somewhat irritating. For this reason he reported he had to say that VLW got along with the block staff only "fairly well".

But Shri Ram Lal had also tried to explain to the villagers why the funds they wanted for street paving could not come immediately and told them what they needed to do in order to have some chance of getting these funds in the future. After funds were allocated, he explained again the money had to be used within a certain time.

Mr. Ram Lal was not one, in other words, to cover things up. He let people both below and above him know where they were and what others thought. The BDO said he did not conceal things, that he let him know his problems. He brought to him in time so that solutions could be worked out. He often asked for help.

No Road Closed

That Shri Ram Lal was highly thought of in the block both by the staff and by the villagers cannot be doubted. He had just been selected the best VLW in the block. There were many expressions of confidence in him and of appreciation for his work. The BDO said of him, "he is able to do any work entrusted to him". The agriculture extension officer reported, "he knows his job. He understands what he is doing." The panchayat EO said, "He is a good VLW. He tries his utmost for anyone with problems." The Cooperative EO added "he is a good influence among the people; he knows how to convince them," and one of his villagers emphasized "if all workers were of the type of our VLW, then the future would look bright indeed."

Not only were these positive statements of confidence expressed, but most people found it difficult to think of any particular weakness. A couple referred to his having a quick temper, but most said he had no particular weaknesses.

Further, both he and others uniformly reported he had good constructive relationships with both the members of the block team and with the villagers. "He is helpful to everyone. He cooperates with all EOs and even with the gram sevaks," reported one extension officer. All but the BDO were enthusiastic about the

way Shri Ram Lal worked with them. The BDO respected the VLW and affirmed he was a good worker, but he said the gram sevak was often very persistent in wanting to know why this or that thing he wished could not be done. To the BDO such insistence became annoying at times.

Most were entirely favourable in their comments however. Everyone could recount things the VLW had done for the villages of his circle. The social education officer said of his achievements that he had gotten streets paved in most of his villages, that he had been very successful in getting contributions for small savings, and in getting people to work on school construction. The agriculture EO indicated that the VLW had organized a cooperative society, had caused two of his villagers to enter block competition between the better villages, and had been successful in making hybrid maize a routine matter in his circle. The panchayat extension officer referred to the gram sevak's successful effort to secure for a panchayat considerable common land which could be used for development purposes. Others referred to his having increased food production and to his having helped make a primary school into a middle school. Cleanliness drives, pucca road construction, popularization of fertilizer and his success in changing the minds of people were still other accomplishments noted.

Ram Lal's situation was not all free of difficulties. He certainly sensed some of the built-in frustrations. At one time or another he commented as follows:—

> The VLW is little better than a beast of burden. His pay is insignificant. I often get dictator type orders. My house, is below average village standards. The job is so multifarious, I don't get any rest. One villager says, 'my animal is sick; you must come treat it.' Another says 'you haven't brought my fertilizer. 'Oh, there are so many things'.

On the other hand, his satisfactions were very great and one sensed he had a kind of serenity about his work. This is evident in his statement about his relations with the block staff. "The sort of relations you have depend on what you are. I have good relations with all the block staff." He reported cordial, cooperative relationships with many other persons.

He had no attitude of aggrievement towards anyone. The only persons he reported did not work with him well were the patwari and the baniya. His remarks about these demonstrated understanding and lack of rancor. He said of the patwari that he did not work

against him, he merely delayed things, made him wait when he had to secure information from him. The baniya, he said, did actively work against what he was trying to do. He had tried to persuade farmers not to join the cooperative. The VLW added in explanation, "He works against me because the things I am trying to do are against his vested interests."

Shri Ram Lal had a number of other satisfactions. When he first came to this circle he said it had nothing in the way of development activities. He feels strongly he has helped to get a number of things started. He said two Panchayats in his circle had won prizes for their work. He was proud of his part in filling a one lakh of rupees target in small savings. He took pride in the fact also that he had worked in all of his villages except two where the population was very small. "No road is closed to me in the villages," he said. "I can go anywhere, even among women." The same kind of general feeling of satisfaction with his work is indicated when, in speaking of the future of the community development program, he said he had heard some of his fellow VLWs say that it was going to the dogs, but he added, "How can it be going to the dogs when I know how I work with farmers, and how they follow me and we work fine together."

CASE 2

MEETS THE EXPECTATION OF ALL

SHRI Ganpat was a tall, well built, local Jat of 24 years of age. Born and reared in a village, he married a village girl and had two sons. He owns six acres of land in his native village 36 miles from his headquarters. While he works as a VLW his wife looks after farming this land. She had never been to his headquarters.

Mr. Ganpat passed his High School Examination from a city close to his native village. Before he took the job of a VLW he had been a farmer and had training in territorial wing of the army. Even now he attends annual training camps regularly. He received one and a half years training for VLW's job.

There are eleven villages with a population of about 7,000 in his circle. The headquarters village of Bhamgarh is one and a half miles from a pucca road and three miles from block headquarters and the nearest post office. All of his villages are approachable by cycle all the year round.

According to him about 65 per cent of people in his circle are Jats and 75 per cent are farmers. About 20 per cent are agricultural labourers while the remaining five per cent are engaged in village crafts and services. In terms of local institutional resources, there are six panchayats, two cooperatives, six primary schools, six libraries, four community listening sets, and two sports clubs. There is only one youth club, one mahila mandal and one community centre in his circle.

POTATO DEMONSTRATION

This was one of the activities in which he was engaged during the month preceding the research team's visit. It arose from the discussions of the agriculture extension officer in one of the block's meetings.

The day following the staff meeting the VLW met one Mr. Jageer Singh, a member of the panchayat and a progressive farmer of Chapree Village. in his field. The farmer had previously agreed to reserve some plot for any demonstration the VLW wished.

It was, therefore, easily possible for Shri Ganpat to mark the potato result demonstration plot during this visit. The VLW next contacted Shri Ganga Ram in this connection. He was an average farmer and non-believer in use of fertilizer on potatoes. After a great deal of persuasive talk he agreed to try the demonstration. The VLW accompanied the farmer to his farm and marked the demonstration plot.

Because of the block's failure to make demonstration fertilizer available in time the work had stopped. Help from the block had been limited to giving the lay-out for the demonstration plots.

Cooperative Marketing Society

This work was initiated by the district marketing sub-inspector in one of the block meetings. After the meeting the first thing the VLW did was to contact Shri Bal Swarup, an influential medical practitioner, because he thought it wise to contact some body who could understand quickly and who then could help him explain to others. Shri Bal Swarup offered his cooperation to the VLW. Soon after this meeting Ganpat contacted individually three or four other persons at their homes. He secured their promises to subscribe to the membership of the society. The VLW made the next visit to the village with the marketing sub-inspector. During this visit about six persons subscribed to the share capital of the society. Later he enrolled four members from a different village. Except the instructions at the staff meeting the block had no connection with this activity of the VLW.

Rabi Campaign: Seed and Fertilizer

The rabi campaign was discussed for the first time in one of the block meetings and involved activities related to seed and fertilizer distributions and organizing demonstrations of improved practices. Immediately after the block meeting the VLW started working on the campaign. During the first two days through his informal home visits he prepared the farmers for a rabi campaign meeting at the choupal of Shri Baboo Ram a panchayat member of his headquarters village. About thirty farmers participated in this meeting. The use of improved seeds and fertilizer were the two main topics discussed in the meeting. Some farmers in the meeting who were already using these reinforced the VLW's recommendations on the basis of their own experience. This support came casually during the discussion following the VLW's appeal. The question of availability of good seed and fertilizer was also raised and the VLW gave the necessary information about the sources of supply.

During the fortnight he had one such meeting in each of the villages in his circle.

Rabi Campaign: Wheat Demonstration

This activity also formed a part of his rabi campaign work. While he had meetings for fertilizer and seed at night, he contacted individual farmers in their fields and homes during the day to prepare them to become demonstrator farmers in the rabi campaign. The first man he contacted was a progressive Jat farmer named Hari Chand. He already had a demonstration plot of fertilizer in paddy. Mr. Hari Chand was in the company of four or five other farmers, when the VLW visited his home. The whole group had some informal talk about fertilizer demonstration on paddy. The farmer reported very good growth of his paddy crop. They went to see the paddy plot, and in the course of this visit the VLW suggested the farmer should have a similar fertilizer demonstration on wheat. Because of his good experience with paddy the farmer easily agreed to the proposal.

Mr. Sadhu Ram who had never used fertilizer before was contacted next by the VLW. After a long persuasive talk by the VLW Shri Sadhu Ram agreed to put on the demonstration. The major difficulty in carrying out this work arose from the block's failure to supply fertilizer in time. Ganpat said the demonstrators were constantly enquiring about the supply of fertilizer, "and I had no satisfactory reply for them." This had discouraged other farmers from becoming demonstrators.

Result Demonstration: Two Fertilizers

Mr. Ganpat had fourteen demonstrations in preceding rabi season. He rated the demonstration carried out in the field of Shri Chamel Singh, Jat of Jand village, as his best. The yield was highest. Shri Chamel Singh's farm is just on the boundary of the village. The farmer was 60 years of age. His two young nephews carried on the agriculture operations. The VLW first contacted Shri Chamel Singh in July 1958 about the use of fertilizer. The farmer did not respond favourably. His second visit to the demonstrator took place about September 1958. It was at this visit that the farmer agreed to try a fertilizer demonstration. The demonstration had three equal plots, with no fertilizer on one, 'kissan' fertilizer used in the second and superphosphate in the third.

The demonstration concerned both the relative productivity of superphosphate and kissan, and the worthwhileness of any fertilizer.

The VLW helped the farmer in laying the demonstration and applying the fertilizer. The VLW made a number of visits to the plot. In one or two visits the son of sarpanch who was a good friend of his was with him. In one visit, the block development officer was with the VLW. During the growth of the demonstration the farmer failed to irrigate at the proper time. The VLW talked to him and persuaded him to irrigate the crop before it was entirely too late. With the exception of this minor difficulty the cooperation of the demonstrator farmer was good. The plot was harvested some time in early March in the presence of the VLW and the farmer. The VLW seems to have made a good start on the demonstration. The plot was carefully selected near the village and the farmer had irrigation facilities. The VLW himself helped the farmer in laying the demonstration and applying the fertilizers. After this, however, little was done. Nobody from the block except the BDO visited the plot. The VLW made many visits but they were casual, not planned. No attempt was made to bring the villagers to see the plot. The final yield was not weighed. After the crop was cut nobody showed any concern for using the demonstration in any way. The village school master, the sarpanch and the patwaree knew nothing about it.

Other Activities

In course of the year he worked on many other activities. In one of the villages he started a women's club with the help of the lady social education organiser and the gram sevika. In still another village he organized a youth club, with the help of the social education organiser and the secretary of the local cooperative. In cooperation with the members of the block he organized training programme and trained about 110 gram sahayaks from his circle.

Personal Attention and Persuasive Talk

Personal attention, persuasive talk, and use of professional and local leadership characterises his approach to his work. In the descriptions of the activities the following methods were noted:

1. He makes field visits. For example, he contacted Shri Jageer Singh of Chapree village in his field to arrange a fertilizer demonstration on potatoes.

2. He makes home visits. He met Shri Ganga Ram at his home and persuaded him to lay a demonstration.

3. He is skilful and persuasive in his talk. Shri Ganga Ram was a disbeliever in fertilizer. The VLW converted him into a cooperative demonstrator by his skilful and informal talk.

4. He uses informal meetings and to some extent plans for his meetings. In course of rabi campaign he organized one effective meeting in each of his villages.

In addition to these extension methods, he makes successful use of a number of other helpful devices. He uses structural leaders and progressive farmers to further his programme. Shri Jageer Singh whose example has been cited above was both a member of the panchayat and a progressive farmer. He also works with those who need his help and individual attention, *e.g.*, he worked with Shri Ganga Ram, the disbeliever in the use of fertilizer. He makes use of professional leadership wherever necessary. In working for cooperative society he took the help of the marketing inspector in one of his villages. He had the help of the block staff in training of Gram sahayaks, organizing the sewing centre for women, and the sports club for the youth. He makes use of gram sahayaks in his work. In Jand village, villagers had some difference of opinion about the time of working on the approach road. To overcome this he started working on approach road with the help of the Gram Sahayaks. Other villagers joined the work gradually. He is tactful, and uses cooperative villagers to get further participation.

Sharing the Community Hukka

Mr. Ganpat thinks that the Community Development Programme has a good future and he firmly believes in it. His faith in the programme is the result of his experiences, achievements, and his villagers' reaction to these achievements. Being a local man and a village farmer he has had no conflicts in his basic work attitudes. He speaks the local dialect. The fact, that he had farming experience all through his childhood and for some time after his matriculation makes him still more acceptable to his villagers. He belongs to the majority caste group of his circle. This enables him to know at first hand the values, customs, and ways of thinking of most of the villagers in his circle. He feels that this has helped him in getting more cooperation for his work. As he puts it "I enjoy the privilege of sharing the same community 'hukka'." No doubt, he therefore, gets wide and easy acceptance from the people.

The block officers described him as an excellent social mixer. The block structure also contributed to his high positive moral. He had been judged the best VLW of the block. All the block staff reported having very good relationships with him. In short he got along well with everybody.

Some of the comments of his extension officers about his work were: "He is hard working." "He does his work promptly." "He takes interest in his work." "He meets his targets." "If he fails in anything he brings such problems to us." "Sometimes he consults his villagers before committing to the block programme." In other words they suggest he is the type who meets the block's specification of a good village level worker.

Another source of his high morale was his past experience with this programme. When asked that he particularly liked about his job, he said, "This job enables me, to help others, as well as, to help myself." Asked about the achievements of which he is proud, he said, "I am proud of two approach roads which no one else in spite of their best efforts could get going." Similarly he succeeded in helping the panchayat realise a house-tax in arrears for the last five years.

In other words, he is proud of the fact that he could deal successfuly with situations which many others in the block could not handle.

In summary, he can be said to be very close to the expectations of the block as well as of the villagers. Professionally he is a trained VLW and this helps him give concrete form to and to link the expectations of both the block and the village.

CASE 3

FACTIONS SURMOUNTED

AFTER one year and seven months training for his job, Mr. Jaikishan has worked as a VLW for about two and a half years and in his present circle and block for the last one and a half years.

He was born and reared in a village and received education up to the intermediate standard. He is a 26 years old young married man, and is father of one son and one daughter. He has no other job experience. His family, a member of the 'Ahir' group noted for their good agriculture traditions, owns one hundred bighas of land. Jaikishan lives in a newly constructed house of one drawing room, one kitchen and one store room. There is no latrine or pump. On an average his wife is with him two months of the year. The rest of the time she lives with her father-in-law.

Of the ten villages in his circle, the headquarter village of Jaipur, with population of 2430 is the largest. It has a post office and all nine other villages are within a radius of seven miles. Block headquarters is 5 miles and district headquarters 33 miles distant.

The total population of the circle is six thousand, nearly all of whom depend directly upon agriculture. Wheat, barley and small millets are the major crops and 'Ahirs' constitute the largest social group. Two panchayats, four cooperatives, three primary schools, two maternity centres, one dispensary, one youth club, one mahila mandal, and two libraries constitute the main social institutions of the circle.

Jaikishan worked on a wide range of activities. Besides the six major ones described below, he had helped raise money for adding more rooms to a school, written many reports each month and attended many meetings of panchayats, coops, vikas mandal, and youth clubs.

RECOVERY OF FRUIT PLANT MONEY.

This was the activity on which Jaikishan had spent the most time in the previous month. Its origin lay in a series of actions starting about a year earlier. At that time the block received a

very large target for distributing fruit plants. When the BDO discovered that there were not enough plants at the district nursery to fulfil the block target, he asked the district agricultural officer whether they needed to fulfil the target under these conditions. He was told the block should and that the plants could be secured from Agra. The agriculture extension officer questioned the suitability of the Agra plants since block soil conditions were different from those at Agra. The BDO, however determined to purchase the plants and went to Agra himself to complete arrangements.

All village workers were asked to collect demands for fruit plants from the villagers. Under pressure to reach the target, they returned an exaggerated order. Purchases from Agra were made on the basis of these demands. When the plants arrived, they had to be distributed. Though VLWs had been told the plants would cost 8 annas each and would be sold only for cash, they were forced to accept credit sales to get rid of the exaggerated number. By silence the block permitted such sales rather than face the alternative of having the plants die on its hands.

Jaikishan had distributed about 2400 of these fruit plants on credit. He sold some directly to farmers, and others to village organizations. In a few cases he demonstrated how the plants should be "set out".

A panchayat member had purchased ten plants, three of which had died. The school teacher bought for the school about sixty plants, 20 of which had died. The president of the cooperative society had purchased twenty plants and only five survived. According to the agriculture extension officer about 35 per cent of plants had died, 15 per cent were expected to die soon and only some 25 per cent were expected to reach fruit bearing maturity. False pressures accentuated at each of several stages thus created the problem of recovering payment for these plants. The entire block organization from the BDO through the VLW, to the villagers was involved. Victim of mistakes of decision they had no choice but to force the recovery of these debts at great cost in time to the block staff and to the panchayats.

In the previous block staff meeting the agriculture extension officer explained the urgency of collecting money to pay for the plants. The block was getting repeated reminders of their debt from the supply company. The block panchayat samiti also discussed the situation. Panchayats were ordered to help the village level workers in collecting the payment due from the farmers.

On his return to his headquarter from these meetings Jaikishan talked about this to a group of some 10 to 12 farmers who happened to be waiting at his home to see him. The group suggested postponing the effort until the new crop was marketted. But this was not feasible. Meanwhile, the VLW got the village chowkidar to announce that repayment of the money for the plants was needed. Jaikishan also asked the organisations which had taken plants to urge their members to make payment. He had collected Rs. 150/-. The effort was being continued.

But no one had had time to analyze the problem of the high mortality of the fruit plants. The president of the coop stated the village already had two unsuccessful fruit gardens, and no one had analyzed this failure either. They simply ignored it and went ahead with their campaign to sell fruit plants at subsidised rates. Now most of the staff's time was being devoted to collection of money. The agriculture extension officer stated at least 50 per cent of his time during the month had gone to this activity.

Organizing a Cooperative Society.

In early February in the block panchayat samiti meeting it was decided to organise twenty four cooperative societies in the block. Jaikishan undertook to organize one in each of the two villages, in his circle not already having such a society. He started working in both villages, but got encouraging response from only one and concentrated therefore on that. After these early individual talks he had held two meetings. In the first his main purpose had been to sell the idea of a cooperative society. To the main objection raised—the in ability to contribute 10 rupees for a share—the VLW tried to answer with the possible advantages such an investment could bring. The response was enough to warrant the second meeting in which specific organization was discussed. Since the villagers wanted the president of the vikas mandal to be chairman of their society and he happened to be away at that time, final plans could not be concluded. Another meeting was planned for the future. None of the block staff had been involved in any way in this after the policy had been announced.

Agriculture Exhibition.

The block agriculture extension officer happened to visit Jaikishan's headquarters village two or three days before the annual village fair. During this visit the VLW raised the possibility of presenting an agriculture exhibition at this fair. It was decided to

take the matter up at the next day's block staff meeting. Here the VLW presented the idea, asked for help of the staff and for a small appropriation of money for prizes to good exhibits.

The BDO agreed to the idea of the exhibition and he, the agriculture EO and the social education officer promised to come and help with the demonstration. The SEO said he would provide a loudspeaker and some general educational exhibits that then were being used in some other camp. The agriculture officer offered to supply agriculture exhibits. The block was unable to provide the prize money and though the BDO contacted the sarpanch about the panchayat furnishing a few rupees for this, he too reported no funds available.

When the day of the fair arrived, the agriculture exhibits were brought to the village by the block jeep, but no loudspeaker nor education exhibits arrived. Later another VLW arrived stating none of the block staff could come to the fair because all had suddenly been summoned by the collector to district headquarters. The messenger VLW stayed and helped Jaikishan organize the exhibition. The SEO later explained that because the exhibition was on the next day following the end his camp, he had not had time to transport these items to the fair grounds.

Many people saw the exhibition, Jaikishan said, and therefore he felt it did some good. The working of an Amber Charkha was demonstrated with the help of Amber Charkha centre in his village, but he was unable to demonstrate the use of any other improved implements since he had no help.

Constructing a Drainage Channel

This had been one of Jaikishan's major activities during the past year. He had observed the need for such a channel from the village drinking-water well as soon as he arrived in this headquarters village. After he gained some acquaintance with the people he started talking to various villagers individually about the problem. This took some time. When he felt the situation was ripe he organized a village meeting. Here possible solutions and the resources required for each were discussed. The panchayat extension officer attended and helped explain things. Three village baniyas made contributions of 275 rupees each for the project. Since this was much less than what was needed, Jaikishan went to the Block Development Committee for help. They promised funds after the next budget was received.

Accordingly the panchayat was later granted funds. At that time, about July, 1959, another meeting was held, the project was approved and work was shortly begun. When completed in October 1959 the channel was 609 feet long. The total cost was about 1600 Rs. out of which villagers contributed about 1000 Rs. in shramdan. The contributions from the village baniyas were not used but the donors agreed to help to this extent on some future village project.

Repair of a Kuccha Road

This was his second major project of the previous year. At a short distance from the village the kuccha road had deteriorated badly. In the rainy season it became seriously clogged and caused great difficulties to the men and animals. Some village cattle had lost their lives in the muck.

About June or July 1958, Jaikishan organized a meeting to discuss the problem. The villagers first response was that the government should do these repairs, but the gram sevak advised them firmly that the government would not help on a kuccha road. The problem became a live issue but no decision was reached.

While opinion was generally favourable, some farmers seemed not to see the urgency of taking it up. Knowing the task was one requiring almost unanimous support Jaikishan did not push the project much at that time. He gave the people time for further discussion. Meanwhile he became aware that those who were hesitant about the work were a part of a village group who felt they had received fewer benefits from the VLW and the block than another group with whom most of those supporting road repair were identified. After he sensed the problem, the gram sevak explained it to the block staff and asked their advice. Together a strategy was planned to balance the benefit of the two groups. The hesitant group had a tank which needed minor repairs. With block help the VLW got these repairs completed.

After this about May or June 1959, Jaikishan set up a second meeting to consider the road repair. This time everyone agreed to take up the work. Each family was asked to spread 10 x 10 feet of earth on the road bed, and the project was completed in September 1959 without further difficulties.

Result Demonstration: Top Dressing for Wheat

In the previous rabi season Jaikishan had organised two result demonstrations because, he said, "I got free fertilizer only for two." Both these were in his headquarters village involving ammonium

sulphate on wheat. The better of these was on the field of Shri Lal Chand. According to the VLW it had had a higher yield because disease resistant seed had been used. Because instructions were received by the block that demonstrations of top dressing of ammonium sulphate on wheat should be carried out, Jaikishan had approached Shri Lal Chand and asked if he could use a plot in one of his fields for such a demonstration. The fertilizer to be applied would be free. The farmer agreed and the VLW selected two bigha field and both ammonium sulphate and compost were spread on the entire field. The total field was then cut into three plots each 44 by 66 feet. Wheat was planted in each one. In the control plot no further fertilizer was applied. In the second five pounds of ammonium sulphate was used as a top dressing, while in the third, seven and a half pounds of ammonium sulphate were spread as top dressing. The purpose was to determine what the "optimum" yield would be, Jaikishan said.

While the crop was growing he visited the plot about 3 times a month. He said he took "some" farmers with him during these visits. The teacher brought some of his student twice to see the demonstration. When the crop was harvested the VLW, the farmer and about seven other cultivators were there. The BDO, the agriculture EO and the SEO were reported to have each seen the plot.

The yields of the plots were reported to be 20 maunds per bigha from the control plot, 23 maunds per bigha from the 5 lb. plot and 25 maunds per bigha from the seven and a half lb. plot.

"Using Since the Block Opened"

Though the layout of the demonstration, the technical control of the steps and amount of fertilizer, and the apparent efforts made to have some people witness the demonstration were elements conducive to effectiveness, other characteristics of broader import suggest that the demonstration had little impact upon the minds of the villagers. Indeed the minimum utility of the demonstration may be questioned when it is observed that Shri Lal Chand stated he had used ammonium sulphate "since the block opened" and yet was not using it as a top dressing in the comparable season after the demonstration.

The effect on others also seems questionable. Though the field was on a major road, the particular part used in the demonstration was deep in the field away from easy view. A panchayat member who had known the demonstrator farmer since birth knew nothing about the process except that some fertilizer demonstration had been done by the VLW. The president of the cooperative who was a

relative of Shri Chand and knew him very well also was ignorant of the demonstration. The teacher who had taken the students to see the demonstration was also unable to describe the main features of the demonstration.

Jaikishan himself was not clear as to the purpose of the demonstration. He admitted that the use of two experimental plots had simply been given to him as instructions to be carried out. The "optimum" yield concept did not carry meaning for him. Further no effort was made by any of the block staff to raise the question as to which yield among the three was best. No follow up of the demonstration was carried out and there was no evidence of supervision or team work on the part of the staff as a whole.

Not Idle.....Good at Explaining

Everyone agreed Jaikishan was a hard worker, that he had good relationships with the villagers, and was capable in helping people understand. One villager described him tersely as "not idle and good at explaining things." But this failed to tell the story. Along with his work, friendliness, and talk, he had insight and worked in terms of broad planning. He sized up problems, forged them into public issues, organized discussions, identified contending factions, removed emotional obstacles and helped the whole village arrive at decisions. He worked well with all groups, was noted for his "good contacts" and his sociability. "He gets along and helps all people irrespective of their economic or social or party positions." This was the general opinion of the block staff as well as of the villagers, yet he did not hesitate at times to inform the villagers of policies which were unpopular or of facts that were undesirable. As for caste, the president of the cooperative, summed up the feeling, "He has more sympathy with his own caste group which is also the majority group, but he does this so skillfully that other groups do not feel it." The one criticism heard was that he failed to give equal attention to all his villages.

He was equally at home and effective with his block superiors. He described his relationship with the block officers as "brotherly." They regarded him highly. Not only was he interested and conscientious about carrying out instructions, he also frequently informed the staff of the "situation" in his villages and made suggestions for action. Sometimes he insisted on certain steps he felt were important. One member of the staff commented, "he brings both information and pressure to us." Yet he was not above seeking their help, and did so in the general interest of his effectiveness.

Jaikishan thus served to link the block and the villagers and in his ability to bring information, suggestions, and even pressures to each from the other and from himself, he became an effective instrument gearing resources to people's needs. His achievements can be noted even in the narration of his major activities. He referred most proudly to the construction of the drainage channel. Others pointed to his work in agriculture and cooperation.

Plainly his morale was good. His only articulated criticisms of his situation were that his wife felt his pay was too low, and that his time was so filled that it was not possible to read anything. But his satisfactions were real. As a member of the majority caste, a local man, a farmer, he was at home in his work.

CASE 4

MANY METHODS AND AMPLE RESULTS

TALL, slender, energetic and business like Mr. Raghunath is about 28 years of age and belongs to a Rohila Rajput family. He is married and has three children. His wife who was born and brought up in a village lives with him in his headquarters.

Born in the same district, he spent his earliest years in a village of about 7,000 people. He had most of his schooling in a city and there passed the high school examination. His family's 10 acres of ancestral land is now cultivated by tenants while his father works as a tailor.

Mr. Raghunath has held this, his first job for six years. Before joining this block two and a half years ago, he received six months of extension and four months of basic agriculture training. He has served his present circle about 18 months. It consists of about 6,128 people, mostly of his own caste and nearly all dependent upon agriculture. The circle's 13 villages vary in size from 140 to about 1350 people and are within four or five miles of his headquarters. All can be approached by cycle the entire year over pucca and well maintained approach roads. He seldom makes night halts.

His circle contains seven panchayats, twelve cooperatives, and nine primary schools. In addition to two youth clubs, and one mahila mandal there are also seven community centres, four libraries, six sports clubs and one recreation club. At block headquarters there is a primary health centre. Each village has a trained midwife.

Mr. Raghunath has an above average house and an office in the community centre just a few steps from his home. Here he is one mile from a pucca road, one and a half miles from a post office and block headquarters, and thirteen miles from district headquarters.

Rabi Campaign Leader's Camp

During the preceding fortnight Raghunath had spent most of his time on the following five activities: organizing a village leaders camp as a part of rabi campaign, adjusting and verifying bills, getting farmers to agree to fertilizer demonstrations, explaining the

need for manure and improved seed, and soliciting for small savings. Organizing and carrying out the leaders' camp was an integral part of the rabi campaign. In the previous block staff meeting the B.D.O. instructed each V.L.W. to hold a camp in his circle in order to disseminate as much information as possible about how to improve the rabi crops.

Returning to his headquarters Raghunath first talked with the sarpanch of the village about the possible participation of two or three particular persons in the proposed camp. The following morning he paid visits to these farmers and got them to agree to attend. That afternoon the V.L.W. went to the village where the camp was to be held and planned a meeting for that night.

The meeting was attended by 45 to 50 villagers. Raghunath started with a discussion of village needs. Regarding the construction of a school for which the villagers had collected Rs. 6,000 he was able to announce that the block had sanctioned the additional amount needed.

Discussion then turned to the need for an approach road. The V.L.W. told them this could be discussed with the B.D.O., but that the villagers should do something to please the B.D.O. before he would again help them. The villagers indicated they were ready to do anything the V.L.W. thought best. At this point Raghunath brought up the B.D.O's. idea of having a camp. He told them that if the village undertook this the B.D.O. certainly would attend the camp and they could discuss their road problem with him at that time.

After the villagers agreed, the place to be used for different aspects of the camp were considered. The village had two parties, and in order to make the camp a village programme, rather than a party programme, Raghunath got the two factions' leaders to agree that the block staff members who came would live at the choupal of one party and eat food with the members of other party.

Most of the planning and organizing of the camp was done by the V.L.W. but instruction at the camp was given by the block staff. Raghunath spent about 3 days on this activity during the preceding fortnight. The only difficulty experienced was getting participants; it was a busy time for the farmers.

Bill Adjustment and Verification

The B.D.O. wanted the V.L.W. to complete the accounts of certain construction done in the past. With the help of the overseer

this work was carried out inspite of Ragunath's feeling that it was not his legitimate duty.

Reservation of Demonstration Plots

Raghunath recognised that many cultivators were not using fertilizer properly. Hence, he decided to try to put on some demonstrations. He had, therefore, spent some time talking with farmers urging them to undertake such demonstrations. Just by his own informal discussion he had gotten two farmers to agree. A third accepted the plan only after the V.L.W had gotten a former demonstrator also to talk with him. After the cultivators had agreed, Raghunath asked the B.D.O. to supply free fertilizer for the demonstrations.

Advice on Fertiliser and Seed

At the recent staff meeting V.L.Ws. were directed to explain and urge the use of fertilizers and good seed. Raghunath first discussed the benefits of chemical fertilizers and good seeds with one of the progressive farmers. Later he gave the same arguments to a group of people gathered around the community listening set. In another village meeting he performed a method demonstration for selecting good wheat seeds. Seed were placed in water and he showed how bad seed and impurities floated to the surface while the good seed settled to the bottom. None of the block staff was involved in this work.

Small Savings

For some time targets on small savings contributions for each V.L.W. had been fixed by the state government and this activity had been a routine part of his work, Raghunath said. The V.L.W. had become a registered agent and received a one and a half percent commission for every Rs. 100 investment he secured.

A few months earlier a few farmers promised that after harvest they would make an investment in this. During the fornight he talked with three of these. One objected telling him that if he purchased a calf worth Rs. 100 it would be valued at Rs. 400 after 2 or 3 years, whereas the same Rs. 100 invested in small savings would become only Rs. 165 after 12 years. Nevertheless through promises to help in other ways later and by other arguments, Raghunath was able to secure about Rs. 500 in small savings from these farmers. .

RESULT DEMONSTRATION: Paddy, Fertilizer and Production

Raghunath had organized 30 result demonstrations during the past rabi season. He said the best was a demonstration of fertilizer on paddy on the farm of Shri Lal in the village, Rampura. The main purpose was to show the effectiveness of fertilizer in increasing paddy production. The demonstrator farmer had lived in this village all his life. He owned 16 acres of land. His main crops were paddy, wheat, maize and sugar cane. Raghunath had known Lal for about two years. He had helped him get a loan from the block, had obtained seeds for him and had helped him control pests on his crops.

About 15 days before planting time Raghunath had a talk with Lal about the possibility of having a demonstration in his field. At first the farmer hesitated, but finally agreed to go along. The gram sevak helped the farmer select the site which was situated on a canal path travelled by many people.

The site was divided into two, one-eighth acre plots, one for demonstration and one for control. The Japanese method was followed. The plants used in both were from the same nursery. They were planted and cultivated in the same way and all operations were similar except in the demonstration plot a chemical fertilizer mixture containing ammonium-nitrate supplied free from the block was used whereas no fertilizer was used in the control plot.

When it was time to plant the plots Raghunath went with Lal to the nursery and helped select the plants. He also did enough transplanting in the field itself to demonstrate how this should be done. At this planting four or five other farmers and about 20 trainees from a nearby training centre were on hand to observe.

During cultivation and growth some 10 or 15 cultivators came to see the demonstration. The B.D.O. also visited the plots. The fields became flooded at one time and success of the entire operation was threatened. Raghunath asked the B.D.O. what might be done. The B.D.O. contacted a sub-divisional officer who was able to effect a drainage in time to prevent damage.

At harvesting one tenth of each of the plots was first cut and these yields were weighed. It was found that the demonstration plot tenth yielded 12 lbs more rice than did the tenth from the control plot. At this time about five farmers and ten trainees were present to observe the difference in the yield.

Raghunath made and kept a record of the yields of the two plots. Lal said that some 30 to 40 of his home and field neighbour talked with him at one time or another about the demonstration. Some

of them reported doing so and added they were now using fertilizer as a result. The demonstrator farmer had been asked to deliver a talk about the demonstration at the training centre and had done so. Raghunath estimated that before the demonstration about 20 percent of the farmers were using fertilizer whereas after the demonstration the percentage rose to something more than half.

"It Had the Greatest Spread"

This was his best demonstration, Raghunath stated, because "it had the greatest spread". More people saw it as compared to other demonstrations. The demonstrator farmer said that it was successful because of the increased production. "People talked to me about the crop; they were interested in it", he added. Indeed many characteristics of the demonstration reveal it as an effective operation.

There was clarity of purpose both on the technical aspects of the demonstration and on the educational process. The operation was arranged both to provide local proof of the advantage of chemical fertilizer on paddy and to have this proof observed by farmers so that their practices might be influenced. The plots were prepared, plants selected, planted and cultivated, fertilizer application controlled, yileds separately measured and recorded all in a competent fashion to provide local proof. A clear difference in yield was shown favouring the fertilizer plot. This was only a part of the process, however. Specific efforts were made to have a number of cultivators grasp the meaning of the demonstration.

First, the demonstrator farmer selected was a man of influence in the village with farm operations typical of most villagers. Hence people might be expected to pay attention to what he did. In addition, the location of the plot near a canal path made it likely that many others would at least see the demonstration. Further, at least some conscious effort by the V.L.W. to get people to view the demonstration and its results was made. Records were kept and after the close of the demonstrations some steps were taken to have the results made known. The demonstrator and the V.L.W. talked formally and informally about the demonstration to others. Throughout the process the gram sevak and the farmer remained in close touch. Regunath helped in various phases of the process and visited the site often.

Though the effective features of the demonstration far outweigh its weaknesses, two or three oversights are apparent. In this category is the absence of a team approach to the demonstration on the part of the block staff. Except for the B.D.O. who visited the site

once and who helped get flooded conditions controlled, no members of the block were aware of the demonstration. It was an operation put on exclusively by the V.L.W. and the farmer.

Similarly there was some lack of full-scale follow-up. True, the V.L.W. kept records, but he seemed to use them only for reporting. There was no evidence that he used them to prove the economic advantages of fertilizer on paddy. Similarly while no sound knowledge of the number of farmers using fertilizer on paddy even before the demonstration was available, no attempt was made to find out how many actually used it after the demonstration. And there was no evidence that the V.L.W. or anyone else had critically examined the demonstration in order to improve the process in the future.

With Others' Help

Characteristic of Raghunath's work is his ability to get others to help and work with him. He works with and through influential persons in the villages. He frequently goes first to the president of the panchayat, the village headman or other members of panchayat about a project. He always gets the help of the sarpanch and other panches in organizing village meetings.

Trained functional leaders are also involved by him in his work. He estimated that of some 100 such people who had had two day's training about 65 had helped him in one way or another. He often calls upon them to help him persuade other cultivators to engage in a demonstration or to try this or that practice. He also works with and through his superiors on the block staff. Raghunath often seeks both their advice and their help. In his village leaders' training camp all block extension officers were invited to participate and the B.D.O., the cooperative extension officer, the panchayat and compost E.Os. all came and gave talks to the trainees.

Personal contacts are his chief *modus operandi*: People come to his home and to his office seeking advice. He visits individuals in their fields and homes, and whenever he meets them, he engages in casual conversation.

As a method of stimulating a general awareness of problems and possible solutions, meetings are not neglected. He organizes special meetings like the one to consider the establishment of the training camp, but he also uses informally gathered groups, such as those around community listening sets, to spread a message or plant an idea.

Raghunath uses a wide assortment of tools in his work. Film shows, posters, leaflets, libraries, method demonstrations, community listening sets, dramatic and recreation clubs had all been used in spreading his message. In the small savings program he made frequent use of films. In his office he displayed a number of posters and leaflets about rural health, sanitation, family planning and improved methods of agriculture. He had used a method demonstration to show how to select good seeds. A circulating library of leaflets and books was also available.

Raghunath's work fell into many fields. The greatest part of his time was devoted to agriculture. In addition to the activities already cited he had put much time on trying to stimulate family agriculture production plans and other aspects of rabi and kharif campaigns. Other fields however, engaged his attention. Besides his work on bill adjustments and small savings he had to prepare and submit four reports each month. Much time was also given the previous year to work with such groups as youth, women, laborers and scheduled castes.

Success and Misgivings

Raghunath likes the opportunity his job provides to "serve humanity". Being a part of community development made him feel "good". "I like working with people in the villages," he said. All of them except the patwari and coop, secretary worked smoothly with him. These two he felt were "neutral."

He has good relations with the block staff. He sees them often when passing the block office as he goes on a tour to some of his villages. They help him when he requests help. Comments about him from them included these: "He fulfils his targets." "He has good personal relations with all staff members." "He attends to his work and his requests are met promptly." "He is a good worker and never offends any one." Raghunath had recently been selected the best V.L.W. in the block.

He could point to a number of specific accomplishments resulting from his work. The major ones he felt, were four: his popularizing of fertilizers, the construction of school buildings, construction of panchayat "ghars", and the paving of streets.

In his headquarters village, he had pointed with obvious pride to the improved well at the end of a new approach road, the cleanliness of the village—which had hired a sweeper to keep things neat—the improved houses of brick, some with ventilation and smokeless "chulhas."

His associates also had clear images of the results of his work. Mentioned most often by them were his having increased food production, popularized fertilizers, reclaimed land, and furthered the construction of compost pits. Also noted was his work on the construction of approach roads, the pavement of streets, the remodelling of wells, and the construction of panchayat 'ghars'.

Thus Raghunath had much to bring him satisfaction. He also had his misgivings and disappointments. Since becoming a V.L.W. six years earlier he had had five transfers. "A V.L.W. should not be transferred oftener than every four years," he urged. "It takes a lot of time to get acquainted with the people and accomplish something in the villages."

Three other misgivings about his job caused him dissatisfaction. He felt his salary was too low and that he had no opportunity for promotion.

Secondly there were certain built-in frustrations. The reports he was required to submit each month, he felt, constituted too much clerical work. The targets given to him by higher authorities were sometimes difficult and unrealistic, and he added, "the E.Os. put off most of their work on the shoulders of the V.L.W."

Finally, he said, "I can't devote enough time to my children. The work is so demanding, my wife is always complaining about my being away from home."

CASE 5

CUTTING RED TAPE

MR Kartar Singh has been the V.L.W. in his current circle for the last three and a half years. He is tall, slender, confident and business like. Forty three years old, a member of a Rajput family, he is married and has six children. With the other members of his family he owns some 22 acres of land about four miles outside his circle. Educated to middle school standard he held several jobs before becoming a V.L.W. First employed in private business, he next worked for about one and a half years in a rural development department. Then for nearly three years he served in the Survey of India Office. Immediately before becoming a V.L.W., Kartar Singh was, for six years, a panchayat secretary in the Panchayat Department. He had no formal training for the job of V.L.W.

There are 16 villages in his circle all located within a radius of four miles from his headquarters. Rajputs constitute the largest caste group in the circle. His headquarters village is on a pucca road, about 12 miles from his block head-quarters and two miles from district headquarters. All except about 15 to 20 per cent of the people of his circle are directly dependent upon agriculture. The major crops are sugar cane, paddy, wheat and vegetables. The lack of irrigation facilities and of fuel and fodder in addition to soil erosion constitute the big problems of the circle.

During the previous month most of Kartar Singh's time had been spent on three main activities: seed distribution, fertilizer distribution, and the harvesting of kharif result demonstrations.

Seed Distribution

When the block received instructions from the government regarding the rabi campaign, the B.D.O. called a special staff meeting to consider plans for the programme. Here one of the decisions was that V.L.Ws. should collect the demands for seeds from individual farmers when they attended the rabi campaign camps. Kartar Singh found this to be impractical: not many came to the campaign camps since they occurred during a very busy season; and

the camps came so long before the actual rabi season that farmers could not realistically anticipate their needs. He therefore waited and just before sowing time, collected demands by individually contacting the farmers. The next step normally would have involved the V.L.W. submitting his list of demands to the block where, when consolidated with demands from other V.L.Ws., it would then have been submitted to revenue authorities to certify or varify the "good risk" quality of the farmers. Such applications would then return to the block, to the V.L.W. and finally to the farmer in reverse fashion. Kartar Singh, however, had close informal relations with the patwari. He therefore took his "demands" directly to him and got their verification without sending them to the block. All formalities for some 100 farmers were completed before seed became available in the store. Block personnel were not involved in this process.

Fertilizer Distribution

At the June, 1959 block meeting, Kartar Singh was given a target of distributing 500 maunds of fertilizer for the coming year, 300 maunds of it for the kharif and 200 maunds for the rabi season. Rabi season work on this had been done in three ways. First of all he collected the demands individually from the farmers and routed their applications through the usual channel of block office to revenue authorities, back to farmer through the block office and the V.L.W.

After going through this regular channel for the first group of farmers he decided to try to shorten the procedure. So, for the second group he asked the B.D.O. to allow him to go directly to the revenue authorities for the sanction of his loan applications. He told the B.D.O. he felt sure his good relations with the tehsildar and patwari would assure their quick approval. The B.D.O. agreed and he went directly to tehsildar and got the needed approval. The short-cut also avoided the chance that some of his applications might be rejected by the B.D.O. in the event that the total number of all consolidated applications exceeded the block allotment and had to be reduced.

The third group of farmers comprised those so late in their requests that the applications could not be processed in time for the crop. With them he dealt honestly and sincerely convincing them that their only hope was to make cash purchases. Those who had money agreed and he helped them to get fertilizer.

Harvesting Result Demonstrations

During the month just ending, Kartar Singh supervised the cutting of seven fertiliser result demonstrations on paddy in two of his villages. He had received no help from the block staff on this. Neither had he made any effort himself to get other cultivators to observe the harvesting of the demonstrations. One or two farmers here and there might have watched he said. He had kept records on the demonstrations.

Result Demonstration: Seed Multiplication, Dibbling and Line Sowing

The gram sevak had put on eight to ten demonstrations during the previous rabi season. The wheat demonstration on the land of Shri Ram Singh, he felt was his best because it had given the highest yield. Shri Ram Singh was a 48 year old retired military officer owning and living on a 1/6 of an acre tract near Kartar Singh's headquarters village. He had settled there two years earlier when he retired from service. Kartar Singh saw him often since Mr. Ram Singh's field was next to the pucca road which the gram sevak used in reacting the various villages in his circle. These frequent contracts led the V.L.W. to suggest this wheat demonstration to Ram Singh.

According to the V.L.W. the demonstration had two main purposes. The first was the multiplication of good seed to meet the farmer's need. The second was to show the advantage of the dibbler over the line method of sowing.

The plot was divided equally into two parts. Wheat was sowed by the dibbler method in one and by the line method in the other. The quality of the seed and the quantity and quality of fertilizer were the same for the two plots. At sowing in addition to the farmer, both the V.L.W. and the agriculture inspector were present. Along with some other officers a second visit to the plot during its growth was made by the gram sevak.

At harvest only the demonstrator and the V.L.W. were present. The wheat was weighed separately from each plot and the V.L.W. kept records of the yield. On an acre basis the yield was three maunds more from the dibbler method than from the line method. In explaining the considerably higher yield from the dibbler method, Kartar Singh said somehow rats caused heavy damage in the line sowing plot but had not hurt the dibbler plot.

No help or supervision from the block staff members had been received, and none of them had visited the plots. The district collector and the regional commissioner had passed by the site and

Kartar Singh said, had been impressed with its appearance. The demonstrator farmer reported with pride that he was so pleased with the demonstration he planned to repeat it next year.

Rats, Results and Mixed Purposes

The remarks of the demonstrator farmer that he expected to carry out an indentical demonstration next year throws into sharp focus the lack of meaning in this demonstration process. True, the demonstration had some sound features. It was located on an important highway where it could be seen easily. Technical aspects were executed reasonably well. Controls were adequate. The yield from the two plots differed clearly and in the expected direction and, further there was an obvious sincere interest and enthusiasm in the demonstration and good relations with the cultivator shown by Kartar Singh.

Nevertheless a complete lack of attention to the basic meaningfulness of the process is evident. Lack of this clearly rendered the entire operation useless as a means of influencing subsequent agricultural operations.

There was no clarity of purpose for the demonstration. Seed multiplication purpose was somehow mixed with the differences between line and dibbler sowing. No thought seems to have been given to the selection of the farmer. No consideration was given to his ability to influence other farmers. The demonstration was not conducted under conditions typical of the village. The demonstrator farmer had a much smaller holding than others in the village. He had lived there only two years. The president of the panchayat, secretary of the panchayat, president of the cooperative, the teacher and the patwari did not know of the demonstration or the farmer, and the farmer did not know them or other structural leaders in the village. He was also unaware of the community development programme or the block structure.

In addition no effort was made to get people to see the demonstration at any time and there was no follow up reporting the results to individuals or to informal groups. No signs were displayed to explain the demonstration to those who passed by on the main highway. The close field neighbour had no knowledge of the demonstration.

The VLW himself had made no analysis of the demonstration for future improvement. He said he would not do anything differently in setting up another demonstration.

Odd Jobs

Kartar Singh engaged in many other activities. He had worked hard to hold a rabi campaign camp in each of his villages. At each one he sought the particular interests of each farmer and asked him what particular improved practice he would try. If doing this involved an outlay of money and the man needed a loan, he made a note of this and helped him make application.

He had directed a cleanliness campaign, had worked on the castration of animals, helped organise an exhibition of different varieties of cattle. Some time had been spent with the village teacher in planning a programme and prizes for children in connection with Pt. Nehru's birthday. He had talked to one group of women–though they were in "purdah" urging them to develop kitchen gardens, and help in the rabi campaign. A youth club had been helped to participate in block competition. Eight or ten reports each month, he said, were prepared.

Block and Village Plans Adjusted

Kartar Singh gave a very clear picture of how he tries to work. In accordance with the request of the BDO, he submits a detailed plan of work for each fortnight. But he says the plan never works though he tries conscientiously to follow it. "So many things keep coming up," he said. He goes to a village and a farmer asks for something unforeseen. He either has to disappoint the farmer or go against the planned tour programme. Therefore what he does is to go to the appointed village, do the planned work and other things as well. Before returning to his headquarters village he also tries to get to one other village. He knows where people are, where they sit and smoke. He tells them that he will return tomorrow and indicates the major things he plans to do. He also tells them they can at that time bring up other things if they wish. He tries to "cover" each of his villages every month.

He needs to work with persons individually and he tries to do so. He also sees individuals and groups. He makes use of his close informal relations to help the villagers and to carry out his instructions. To some degree he is able to match popular needs and programme plans to the mutual benefit of villagers and administrative personnel. He did not hesitate to discuss plans and problems with his superiors and to seek their help in developing solutions. Neither did he draw back from notifying those above

him of any situation he felt might be of help to them. The district planning officer reported that he had brought a problem directly to his attention which the officer than was able to handle by virtue of his learning of it in its early stages.

Kartar Singh had sincere faith in the community development programme and its basic philosophy and objectives. "It will work as long as it is carried out honestly and the common people are with it, and they have been for ten years," he emphasised. His enthusiasm was simply demonstrated in his great devotion to his work. He drove himself to help everyone he possibly could. "He is really interested in the welfare of the farmers," one of the block staff said "and he doesn't hesitate to get right in a man's field and plow for him or help transfer paddy plants with his own hands." The villagers liked him and the block staff liked him. "He is very conscientious about his programme," said the BDO.

He could be proud of his accomplishments also. Nearly everyone stated he had done remarkable work in getting farmers in his circle to use good seed and fertilizer. "He has saturated his area with "A" class seed" said one of the block members. Other specific things mentioned were: construction of panchayat buildings, road improvement and fighting the concept that poultry handling is only for scheduled castes. In recognition of these and other things, he had been named the best VLW in the block. This seemed to add to his determination to work hard and effectively. He said, "Now I work under pressure to maintain my reputation," and so he worked long and late and on holidays. His family life suffered, he admitted. "I can talk to you" (researchers) he noted ruefully, "but I have no time to talk to my wife. She complains that other Government servants pass Sundays and holidays with their families and asks why I don't get time to do the same. My contacts with my family are rare, so much so that when I was once getting ration cards and had to give the names of my children, I could not remember the name of my youngest child."

But he had a number of basic satisfactions from his work. He got along well with people and they liked him. He knew his work and enjoyed it. He said one of the main things a VLW had to do was to encourage "mutual regard among all families in a village." "If a VLW works honestly and hard," he commented, "he really gets lots of prestige and respect." He saw as his main achievement the fact that "I haven't disappointed or led any farmer to any loss. I have always helped them." And he added in obvious pride, "Everyone in the block and in other departments are pleased with me."

SECTION 2

The Role Rejectors

CASE 6

I'M FED UP—JUST A SERVANT

GAJANAND was a young man of 26. He was rather tall, and somewhat haughty in his manner. He was neatly dressed in a white, well pressed costume which had a somewhat urban appearance. He nad been a village level worker for two and a half years, had been transferred once, and had been in his present block and circle only six months. A Jat, he was married and had two young children. His wife lived with him in his headquarters residence about half the year. The rest of the time she stays with his family, most of whom live about 45 miles away. He finds it difficult to maintain the expected contacts with his relatives.

He owns about 16 acres of land which he himself had cultivated before becoming a VLW. The first 12 years of his life he spent in a village. Then he went to a city for his education up to Matric.

Gajanand received formal training for his work as a VLW in two different periods. In 1955 he had one year's basic agricultural training and in 1956-57 he had had six months of extension training. He had had no contact with either training centre since he began his work.

He was responsible for working with eleven different villages. These varied in population from two which had only 60 people to two with 2300 and 2500 respectively. The total population of his circle was 7,830. Practically all of the population was engaged in agricultural pursuits. About 60 per cent he felt were farmers, and the rest were mainly labourers in the fields. The chief crops in his circle in order of their importance were, wheat, maize, sugar-cane and paddy.

All but two of his eleven villages could be reached on cycle all year round. His headquarters village has a post-office but is seven miles from a pucca road, 7 miles from block headquarters and 23 miles from district headquarters. He estimated that he spent about two hours a day on the road between villages and about 10 nights each month away from his headquarters.

In addition to its eleven co-operatives his circle had panchayats, five primary schools, one middle school, two health centres, two youth clubs, two community centres, two libraries, three listening sets, seven sports and recreation clubs but no mahila mandals or maternity centres.

The three things on which Gajanand spent most time the previous fortnight were wheat seed distribution, small savings campaign and fertilizer distribution.

Wheat Seed Distribution

Mr. Gajanand said this activity started from directives given in the regular block meeting. He was informed then that there were several different improved varieties of wheat seed available and that VLWs should see that farmers used these seed. The agricultural extension officer told the VLW that he had several large cultivators, suggesting they would be good subjects to use the seeds.

After the meeting Gajanand returned to his headquarters and talked with a number of people around the community listening set about the available seed. He suggested that anyone interested should come and see him next day. A few said they would come. When they came to his house the next day, he gave them permits entitling them to receive the seed. He did not know what happened after that.

In addition to these actions, he held nine meetings in different villages to inform people about this seed. He had the chowkidar announce the meetings, but he was not pleased about the response. Not many people came. He explained this saying that the people expected him to talk about small savings at every meeting regardless of the announced topic. They were hesitant to contribute, but did not feel it proper to refuse. So they simply did not come to meetings.* Further the return on some of the wheat seed distributed the previous year in one of the villages had not been good and this made it more difficult to interest the farmers this year.

Outside the staff meeting block personnel had not been involved in this work.

*This contention is supported by a report from the ag. EO that he had gone to a meeting in one of Gajanand's villages called about an important road question, and had talked at that time about small savings.

Small Savings

Mr. Gajanand said this work was stressed in every meeting and that progress reports attached much importance to it. VLWs were told he contended that their service would be judged primarily on their performance in securing small savings contributions. Some of the block staff confirmed that there had been a "great emphasis on this".

According to the VLW a big compaign was current in the district to raise 10 lakhs of rupees in small savings contributions to present to the Chief Minister of the Punjab who was expected to visit the district in a few days. Gajanand displayed a note from the BDO asking him to organise a meeting and work particularly hard in one of his villages to produce such contributions. The note suggested that temporarily he should shift his headquarters to that village to facilitate this work. He also promised that members of the block staff would come and help, on this particular part of the campaign. After four or five days had passed without such assistance, he had gone to see the BDO. He told him, Gajanand said, to get the people together and talk to them. A few days later several staff members had helped for an hour or so, but had left quickly, telling him, he reported in irritation, they had to attend a wedding.

That the gram sevak had received considerable help from the extension officers seems reasonably clear, however, for several of them reported specifically what they had done with him on this matter. The BDO said he had sent officers to help. The SEO had worked two nights in Gajanand's circle on this. He had talked with people at choupals and had also gone house to house soliciting contributions. The agriculture EO had talked with the people in a meeting, seen some individually, and asked children at school to tell their parents about the need to save and the panchayat EO had worked with the VLW in visits to the villagers' homes. These efforts had netted, the panchayat officer said, about Rs. 3,000 in cash and Rs. 6,000 in promises for the campaign.

The VLW felt this work was particularly difficult. He said he frequently had to compete with the partwari for villager contributions of this sort. And, he added, because the patwari was powerful and sometimes threatened people, the gram sevak was at a disadvantage. He too had to use threats. He said he would tell the panchayats that if they did not contribute or get people to contribute through him, he would not help get funds they wanted from the block.

Fertilizer Distribution

This too was initiated by an announcement at the block meeting. The VLW saw a few people he knew individually and told them about the fertilizer. He then had the village chowkidar announce that all who wanted fertilizer should meet him the next day at 11.00 o'clock at the BDO's office. Some five or six who came the next day were issued the fertilizer as soon as he, the VLW, had talked with the agriculture EO who signed the permits.

Reports, Roads, Craft Centres

Something of the VLW's range of activities may be sensed from a brief summary of other things he and others reported he did during the past year. He had worked on "propaganda for the five year plan" and on buffalo breeding. He had one regular report to prepare each month. He had trained 48 gram sahayaks in two camps during the year. As a result of this he felt these men were helping him more to persuade people to undertake improvements. Gajanand had also worked a great deal on the rabi campaign, but he had no systematic plan of work and none of his families had agricultural production plans. This work had consisted mainly of distributing seeds and fertilizers and laying demonstrations.

Getting three craft centres for women established in his circle occupied some of his time the previous year. He said he had asked the Lady SEO for help on these, but that because she had no transportation, she had not been able to help him. On these he had worked mainly with the panchayats. The BDO also reported he had helped in selecting the houses, in getting contributions and in securing teachers for these centres.

Gajanand spent considerable time and energy developing plans and getting work done on roads. Both the panchayat president and the teacher in his headquarters village reported that he had put effort into this. The panchayat president said the VLW had talked about road construction at four different meetings during the past month. The teacher stated Gajanand had asked him a number of times during the past six months to help him persuade people to undertake road construction.

Other activities included well repairs, collection of the panchayat tax, attending the panchayat meetings, and helping the teacher get funds for school repairs.

Result Demonstration: Fertilizer and Japanese Method

Since the VLW had been in the block only six months, he was asked about demonstrations he had put on during the last kharif season. At that time he had placed 11 result demonstrations, one in each of his villages. The best one, he said was a demonstration of Japanese method of paddy cultivation. It was best because of who the farmer was and because of the large yield obtained in the Japanese method plot. The demonstrator, a Mr. Singh of his headquarters village, was a very progressive cultivator. At that time he had some 13 different varieties of sugarcane under cultivation. He owned 18 acres of land whereas the average farmer had only four or five acres.

The demonstration had developed after Mr. Singh had come on his own initiative to see the VLW soon after Gajanand had come to the village. At this or another meeting shortly after the VLW asked him to set up a demonstration of Japanese paddy cultivation and he agreed. When the time came they laid out two plots, "one control plot and one fertilizer plot." The plots were located at considerable distance from roads or houses.

At the time when the plots were sown, the VLW was there and, he said 8 or 10 neighbouring farmers came to see the sowing after he called to them. Between then and harvest the agriculture EO and the BDO both came to the site two or three times he said. At each of these times, a few people collected casually with them. None of the block staff however, could recall anything about the demonstration though the BDO remembered visiting Singh's farm. At harvest only the VLW and the farmers were present. The gram sevak said that the Japanese method plot yielded 4 maunds per acre more than did the control plot.

Observations

Here is a demonstration which seems capably done with regard to most technical aspects. The field was properly laid out. A control plot and a Japanese paddy plot with fertilizer were compared. Further, the yield of the Japanese method over the traditional method was enough to command respect.

But certain important deficiencies seem clear. One is the obvious lack of supervision and contact with the demonstration by the members of the block staff. When asked about the demonstration on Singh's farm the previous kharif season no one on the block staff could remember anything about it. Obviously Gaja-

nand had received no guidance on this effort. The lack of clarity of purpose was a second weakness. While the gram sevak stated that the demonstration emphasised a comparison of the Japanese method with traditional methods, he talked primarily about the fertilizer aspect of the demonstration. Actually no other facet of the Japanese method entered the picture.

The demonstration was weak primarily in the little use made of it to convince farmers of the advantages of either fertiliser or any other aspects of the Japanese systems. The selection of the farmer to carry out the demonstration may first be questioned. His prestige and influence with the villagers may have been great, but his having more land than most and his very progressiveness may have meant the average villager that the things he did would not apply to him.

Secondly, no efforts were made to have people witness the harvesting of the demonstration. Only at sowing time was any effort made to have people see the demonstration and this effort was quite casual. No effort was made to explain to other what the demonstration was about.

Thirdly, the location was poor. Singh's land was more than half a mile from a road and was far from any place people congregated or passed.

Finally a complete unawareness of the educational phase of the demonstration process was manifest. When asked if there was anything he would do differently or any additional things he would do if he put on such a demonstration again, the only thing Gajanand said was he might improve the dosage of fertilizer and shift slightly the layout of the plots.

Formal Patterns, But Little System

A review of Gajanand's work yields evidence that he works mostly on agriculture-related matters of seed and fertilizer distributions but with additional heavy emphasis upon solicitations for small savings. He has also given much time to work with panchayats securing commitments for work on wells, roads, schools, and to establish craft centres for women.

The methods of work which the VLW utilizes involve the following characteristics. Though he obviously used many informal contracts with people—talking with them when they are gathered around the community listening set or chatting when he meets them on the road—he depends a great deal upon formal meetings even though he is not satisfied with the number of people who attend such

gatherings. He often had the chowkidar to call a meeting. Sometimes he simply had the chowkidar announce his message. He seemed to use such formal procedures relatively often.

Little planning is evident in his activities. Characteristically he received word of a programme or availability of material at the block meeting. In casual fashion he would then take this information to villagers he happened to meet. Those already motivated to use these improved practices could take advantage of them, but there was no evidence of systematic work to simulate others to use them. Thus the VLW served mainly to communicate the availability of certain materials or supplies to people already interested in them.

Most people felt also that Gajanand worked mainly with influential persons. and not much with ordinary cultivators. His pattern of work with panchayats, the lack of any reference to work with labourers or other lower classes, and the contacts he reported support this conclusion.

Another characteristic of his methods was his use of threats or pressure. At least in regard to small savings it seems clear that he was not above using pressure to gain his objectives.

Finally Mr. Gajanand's work revealed few constructive relationships between him and the block staff. Contacts between them were relatively infrequent. The BDO mentioned that the VLW was shy and hesitant about bringing problems to his attention. He seemed to initiate contacts with the Block team only under three conditions: when he needed routine actions—such as issuance of permits for fertilizer, when he was securing money from the Block for a project, or finally when he was desperate. Nevertheless he frequently felt dependent upon them and was resentful of their supposed lack of support.

He Gets Frustrated

A few people felt Gajanand was a reasonably good worker. Most found it difficult to site important good qualities. When asked what his "strengths" were, they replied simply that he was a calm natured person or quiet, or they simply evaded the question altogether saying they did not have much contact with him. His weaknesses were not as difficult to specify. "He is shy in bringing out problems," one commented. Another added he did not have enough technical know-how. While still others said he tended to want quick results, and noted, "It takes time to work with people and help them to change; he gets frustrated."

Most people felt also that he worked amid tension and difficulties with others. He got along with the block staff only "fairly well" if that. Some excused him by saying he was new and inexperienced. Others added tartly that he cooperated well when he wanted to.

The VLW himself gave much evidence that many, if not most, of his relationships with others were something less than smooth. Only a few people important to a VLW's work did he feel really helped him in his job. For one reason or another according to him most were hostile, uncooperative or helpful only when under orders. He told of specific difficulties with the patwari over competition for small savings contributions and with cooperative secretary over who should receive credit for the organization of a new society.

The picture people had of Gajanand's accomplishments as a VLW was diverse. No one seemed sure of any important things he had achieved. Nothing was mentioned by more than two people and most items were reported by only one person. This suggests people had to try hard to recall anything he had done and gave the first thing they remembered. It seems significant that he himself mentioned as his achievement only the very thing which he had previously found so irritating to work on—securing contributions to small savings.

Planning to Resign.

Gajanand felt that the VLW's job was to be "a jack of all trades and a master of none." He saw only disconnected facets of work and no integrating pattern. When asked what he felt the BDO expected of a VLW he replied:

> "The BDO's interest is in whatever orders come from above. He expects the VLW to fulfil them so the BDO won't have any trouble. When any VLW says he cannot do this or that, the BDO replies 'but after all, this is a government order.' The BDO also expects each VLW to spend all the money his circle is allotted each year in the block budget."

He felt community development was once effective but not anymore. "When I was a student," he said, "I had a chance to observe the programme. It seemed a good programme then. It worked well. Then it got merged with the Revenue Department and now it is sorry. I am, fed up with it now." He added he thought the programme would have a good future "if the personnel of departments with which it has been merged will give up their 'official' manner. But, if it continues submerged by the 'official-like attitudes of old departments, it will lose out."

These attitudes seemed to weigh heavily upon him. When he was asked whether the block staff had helped him on a project, he said bitterly, "No, they are not to help. They are officers."

He said he liked his job in that he could serve both his country and himself, but he added his wife did not like the work. A part of his frustration seemed to have stemmed from the contrast between the picture of the work given in training and the actual conditions as he saw them later. "There is a world of difference between training and work. In training they said everyone would help you, but here no one helps. I am just a servant and there is no hope of being promoted either, even if you do a good job." As soon as he fulfilled his bond with the government he planned to resign.

CASE 7

THE UNCONCERNED

RAMESH, a slender young man with casual manner and shy but ready smile, had been working as a VLW for four years. One year of this had been in the block he joined immediately after his 18 months of job training. He had been in his present circle three years. The first 17 of his 23 years of life were spent in his native village about 27 miles from his present headquarters. There, his Ahir, agricultural family holds one hundred bighas of land. He is educated to Matric, and has no previous job experience. He is married but his wife stays with his family.

He lives alone in a pucca house in his headquarters village, Palam, which has a population of about 935. From here in a radius of six miles lie the 11 other villages in his circle with a total population of about 5,000. The smallest village has about 175 people and the largest about 1,050. Most people are of his own Ahir caste. There are no pucca roads in the entire block. From his headquarters the nearest post office is two miles, block headquarters is nine miles, and district headquarters, twenty-two miles.

Nearly all people are directly dependent upon agriculture the most important crops being barley, mustard and gram. Few social institutions exist. Two panchayats, one cooperative, four primary schools, one youth club and one library comprise the entire list of health, educational and welfare organizations.

Recovery of Fruit Plant Money *

This, Ramesh said, had engaged more time than anything else during the previous month. After the staff meeting in which each VLW was instructed to make an all-out attempt to get farmers to repay the money owed on plants taken previously on credit, Ramesh went to a village three miles from his headquarters and first told the vice-president of the panchayat about the urgency of recovering what was owed. The president called the village chowkidar and summoned a few other important villagers to his home. This group then ordered the chowkidar to call all farmers owing

*This VLW as located in the same block as Jaikishan (case) 3. The background out of which the current activity by Ramesh developed is of course the same as that already related in connection with Jaikishan's comparable effort. For review of those background feature see pp. above,

such money—a list being supplied by the VLW. When they arrived the vice-president, the VLW, and the other villagers urged the debtors to make payment. Most who came did so. The VLW visited either at home or in their fields those who did not come at the general summons.

He spent about 12 days in this work during the month. Work in other villages followed the same pattern. For part of the time he had the help of the block progress assistant who had been sent after he had asked for assistance. He still had to "cover" three more villages including his headquarters village. The previous summer, he had distributed plants to about 200 farmers in his circle on credit. So far he had received Rs. 115 in payment from about 60 farmers.

Training Camp for Panches

Inaccordance with the wishes of the development commissioner to provide training in democratic decentralization for panchayat members, the block samiti decided some training camps should be held. Ramesh was absent from the early March samiti meeting when it was decided to hold one such camp for the panches of his circle. The block office and the neighbour VLW informed him of the decision in the next day or so. The camp was set for March 16, 17 and 18th. Written instructions to attend the camp were sent to the panchayat members by the sarpanch. He and the VLW explained the need for the training at one of the panchayat meetings. Ramesh said even though the camp was in the midst of harvesting, most of the 15 panches in his circle came. The social education officer was director of the camp. Ramesh was responsible for food arrangements and other physical facilities. He had also to ensure that everyone in the camp attended the lectures. He reported he had spent about five days on this work during the month.

Harijan Drinking-Water Well

Even before the block was formed the Harijans of Ramesh's headquarters village had been trying to get enough help to construct a well. They had applied to the tehsil and then a number of times to the block for help, but though promises had often been received nothing had been done until after the formation of the block samiti under Panchayat Raj. Shortly after October 2, 1959 the BDO and the pradhan of the samiti visited the village. Upon them again the Harijans pressed their need for a drinking-water well. The pradhan explained that the village panchayat had

already been given funds and authority to use them for such wells and he suggested that they make their request to their sarpanch when he returned to the village. As soon as he did return the Harijans put their request to him. He told them to submit an application to the panchayat which they did. At the first meeting subsequently the panchayat sanctioned Rs. 1000 as a grant-in-aid towards the well for the Harijans. Three hundred rupees worth of material were contributed by other villagers and one of the farmers donated land for the well. Work began in December 1959 and was well along at the research team's visit. The Harijans themselves had contributed about Rs. 700 by way of sharmdan. The VLW had helped off and on in these developments and during construction had prepared accounts for the group since they were unable to read and write.

Organisation of a Cooperative Society

This had been one of Ramesh's major activities during the preceding year. Near the end of 1958 he had come to feel there might be some interest in a cooperative society in one of his villages. Accordingly he had several village meetings to canvass feelings and encourage the people to organise the society. He explained how, for a small investment, villagers could become eligible through a cooperative for varied advantages. Two prominent leaders of the village supported his urgings at these meetings. And once when the block development officer came on tour Ramesh asked him to give a talk to the villagers on cooperation, which he did. Finally in March 1959, about five months from his beginning, the society with about 35 members was registered. The coop. EO reported, however, that it had never actually functioned. He felt that instead of its being set up for the general benefit of villagers, it had actually been organised by a few well-to-do villagers to protect their vested interests. In spite of several efforts on his own part, he said he had been unable to get the society operating.

Organising Mahila Mandal

This was the second major effort by Ramesh during the preceding year. He said VLWs were frequently urged in staff meetings to establish these women's clubs. In one of his villages Ramesh knew the village compounder. His wife was the only educated woman in the village and therefore the only one capable of leading a group in this type of work. When the VLW asked the compounder about his wife's undertaking such a leading role, he stated he would have no objection if all the villagers were willing for her to become the organiser of the club.

Ramesh works casually, unsystematically, without thought, laying a few other important people of the village. When he found them agreeable, he called the compounder into the group and, after some further discussion, the idea was accepted by all. He then informed the block and secured the music, sewing and embroidery materials supplied to each new club and took these to his headquarers. From here the villagers carried them to their own village.

After six months, however, the club had lost its appeal though both the SEO and the VLW tried to persuade the villagers to keep it going. Finally, not satisfied with the progress, the BDO had withdrawn support and the group disbanded.

RESULT DEMONSTRATION: Fertilizer, Soils and Barley

In the previous rabi season Ramesh organised two demonstrations—the target fixed for him by the block. He received little information from the block about how to carry out the demonstrations. He was told to get cooperative farmers and to locate his demonstrations if possible on a road near a village. Some time after the block meeting he contacted five farmers he thought were good prospects, and asked them to work with him on fertiliser demonstrations. Two agreed, and of the two demonstrations, the better, he felt, was on the field of Mr. Kamal Singh.

This demonstration involved the use of free fertiliser on barley. Ramesh said the purpose was to show that fertilizer results in a higher yields. Three plots, each 33 by 44 feet were laid out in the middle of the farmer's field. Compost was applied to all three plots before sowing. Shri Kamal Singh wished to apply the commercial fertiliser before sowing but it did not arrive in time. After the crop had gotten about a foot high fertiliser was applied in two equal doses 15 days apart as follows: control plot, five lbs. of ammonium-sulphate-nitrate to one plot, and to the third plot, five lbs. of ammonium-sulphate-nitrate and an additional egiht lbs. of superphosphate. Ramesh said that the application of fertiliser in two doses was his own idea.

When the fertiliser was applied, four or five farmers who shared the irrigation well with Shri Singh were present. After each fertiliser application the plots were irrigated. Before the plots were harvested a clear visual difference between the three plots was noticeable, the advantage resting with the heavier fertilized units. At harvest Ramesh reported a yield of 25 seers from control plot, 32 seers from the plot with one fertilizer, and 37 seers from the plot with a combination of fertilizers. The same four or five field neighbours

observed the harvesting. The demonstrator farmer, however, said the plots were not harvested separately.

No records about the demonstration were kept, and nothing was done after its harvesting by the VLW, the farmer or the block staff. Little effect could be observed on any farmer. The sarpanch, another panchayat member, the teacher, Shri Singh's cousin brother and his field neighbour knew nothing of the demonstration. The demonstrator farmer, himself was not using the fertilizer on the current rabi crop. His statement of the purpose of the demonstration reveals its failure to influence him. He stated: "In my field, there is some poor soil and next to it some rich soil. I laid these demonstration plots in the poor soil because my purpose in allowing the demonstration was to compare the yields of the rich soil against the yields of the poor soil."

Yet it is clear from the facts at hand that neither this nor the VLWs purpose was served. Certainly there was no communication between these two.

Unplanned and Only with a Few

Ramesh then discussed the proposal with the village sarpanch and no base or ground work upon which continuity of improvement can be expected. The mahila mandal and the cooperative soon collapsed. The demonstration had no substance. His actions about fruit plant debts relied upon announcements and the prestige of a few influential people.

Individual contacts appear to be his main approach, yet they occur casually on the spur of the moment, and involve small numbers of people—those whom he happened to get to know or who are persons in formal positions of authority. Judging from the activities reported, Ramesh spends relatively little time on agriculture. Of all five efforts reported only the result demonstration and the fruit plant debt recovery may be classed as agricultural activities and one of these is somewhat marginal. Neither did the other things he mentioned working on— a cleanliness drive, reports, small-pox innoculation, attendence at panchayat meetings—include specifically agriculture efforts.

Whatever the types of work, Ramesh seemed to approach his tasks with singular lack of concern. He didn't know whether he was supposed to be working on family agricultural production plans or not, "He is not concerned with service," said the agriculture EO. "He comes from a rich family and he goes home too often." He missed staff meetings frequently. A number of the staff referred to his lack of responsibility.

He, himself, gave the impression of not caring a great deal about the work. He rationalised this, however. One of his chief strengths, he contended was his "good social nature" by which he meant his unwillingness to force things on people. He emphasised "my approach is that I know certain things; if they are interested, they can try them." But he acknowledged that when this was carried too far it made him ineffective.

His relationships with villagers in general seem mildly satisfactory. He is a member of the majority group and a local farmer. But he was universally reported weak in his work contacts. None of the villagers said anything genuinely complimentary and the comment from his block superiors was "when we go to his circle, we can't find him and the villagers report he is never around—'he never comes to us.' He doesn't mix with them or get along with us."

May Resign

Neither villagers nor block staff could give any particular accomplishments or strengths of Ramesh. He had no sense of accomplishment and at least some dissatisfatcion in spite of his considerable unconcern. He said he had expected relationships with the block staff would be brotherly, but this he found "altogether missing." He had no commitment to the programme. Its future he thought was hasy. He had no particular likes or dislikes about his job. He had offered to resign, but the time of his bond had not expired.

CASE 8

INDIFFERENCE ANDUNKNOWN

MR. Govind is a young man of 24 years of age, medium height, slender, with an easy going manner. He had been a VLW 21 months serving the entire timt in the same circle of 22 villages. He lives without his wife and child in one room of the panchayat ghar of his headquarters village.

The son of a Brahmin family owning a small bit. of land, he was reared in a village. Prior to becoming a VLW he served in the air force and with the police. In addition he had one and a half years of special training for work as a VLW.

Most of his 22 villages were very small. The largest had a population of about 800 people and the smallest about 22 people Beani, his headquarters, had 600 people. It was situated three miles from a pucca road, four miles from a post office, nine miles each from the block and district headquarters. Of his other 21 villages the nearest was but a furlong away, but the farthest was 14 miles. He thinks he spends about one fourth of his time on the road and an average of 10 nights a month away from his headquarters. The people of his circle depend almost entirely upon agriculture for their livelihood. Their chief crops are rice, wheat, sugarcane.

Fertiliser and Line Sowing

These were activities on which Mr. Govind spent the most time the previous month. He said they were so intertwined, he would report them together. At the previous block staff meeting the ADO agriculture announced that loans for fertilizer should be taken and that each VLW should work to stimulate line sowing in sugarcane. Govind was given a target of 300 acres of line sowing. He knew before the meeting that the time had come to work on these items and he had already talked with some farmers about them. After the meeting Govind discussed them with some 16 or 17 other farmers most of whom had worked with him earlier. At a meeting of the panchayat and at an informal choupal gathering he also emphasized the importance of these items. But he had been able to get only about 25 acres sown in lines.

Much of his work on these items however, had been with two large land owners. Malradam who, with 1130 bighas, held more land than anyone else in the block, had asked Govind to make him available oil-cakes for his use as fertilizer on his sugarcane. After contacting three government agencies Govind found where they could be obtained and Malradam purchased them for cash. Govind also sought to have Malradam apply for a large loan from the block for fertilizer and, after the SEO had used his influence with Malradam's assistant, whom he knew well, Malradam took a 1,000 rupees fertilizer loan as a means of helping the block utilize its allotted funds.

P. Manesh was the other large land owner. Govind reported he had talked with him a time or two about developing a cash crop. Govind suggested that if the land could be irrigated. sugarcane would be suitable. At present, though there was a canal close by, its water was not used because the land level was too far above it. Govind told Manesh that if three or four farmers would jointly plan to use a Persian wheel to lift the water to the required level the block might loan money for its installation. After the farmers agreed to cooperate he arranged a loan to permit the wheel's installation.

Later Govind also told Manesh where he could obtain sugarcane seed and showed him at planting how to sow in lines. The only part played by the block staff was issuing directives to do the work and sanctioning the loans.

Building Pucca Compost Pits

Money for subsidizing such pits had been sanctioned earlier in the year. Because the financial year was about to end, BDO instructed all VLWs to urge their farmers to apply for these funds and to build pits for themselves. Again Govind had worked mainly with Mr. P. Manesh. Manesh had attended the earlier Rabi season camp and there learned about compost pits. Subsequently Govind urged him to construct compost pits and Manesh had completed four. In addition, the VLW reported he and Manesh had both urged other farmers to build the pits. About 13 or 14 he thought, were being built as a result of these discussions.

Repair of the Panchayat Ghar

Funds for this work had also been available for some time but little had been done until the financial year's end loomed the previous month. The need for repair had become apparent during a

"camp" held in the building the previous summer. It had been extremely hot and everyone agreed the building needed a new, non-tin roof. Since then consideration of using the building as a seed store led to the recognition that a cement floor was also needed.

During the autumn Govind had talked with the panchayat about making repairs, had gotten from them a resolution requesting money from the block for the work. The money had been sanctioned, but nothing was done to use it.

With the end of the fiscal year just ahead Govind told the villagers the money would be lost if it were not used within the month, that they would be unable to secure a seed store without the concrete floor, and that the building would be much more useful for recreation and other purposes with the repairs completed.

Concerned about the end of the financial year both the SEO and ADO Panchayat paid several visits to the village to urge that the work be done. The villagers had finally agreed; the repairs had been made, and the money spent.

Small Pox Innoculations

From October to March Govind had the target of giving 32 small pox innoculations each month. In the current month he had given 31 innoculations. Most of them had been given at schools, while some of them were given at homes. The small children in the families of both the cooperative president and the panchayat president had been innoculated by Govind. He had had no difficulty in getting permission to give the innoculations. The block staff had helped him by supplying the vaccine.

Organizing a Youth Club

Govind reported that he got along quite well with some of the young people in his headquarters village and about a year ago he asked the Social Education Officer what he thought about his trying to organise a youth club. Encouraged by the SEO, he first met with some of the parents and received their general consent. Later, he organised a meeting with the young people. The SEO also attended this meeting and after the purposes and plans were explained, the youth agreed to establish the club. At first the group had been primarily a recreation group, but gradually it had developed other projects. Its members had helped the VLW in organising a successful training camp.

Repairing Approach Road

Each year during the rains about a mile of the road to his headquarters village was ruined and rendered useless. Some how a few people became interested in doing something about it and talked the matter over with the panchayat president. At first they were not willing to repair the road themselves, but wanted the government to do the work. Govind advised them this would be impossible. After the ADO Panchayat gave the same advice, they agreed to undertake the repairs themselves by shramdan. In January the work was done. Between 25 and 50 people working about five days repaired the part of the road affected most by the rains. The Panchayat president and the VLW worked with the group each day.

Reports, Culverts, Plows and

A number of other things had engaged Govind's attention. He worked on the annual rabi and kharif compaigns, informed gram sahayaks of the compaign, and enlisted the help of each of them in informing other farmers. In the past month he prepared ten reports. He attended more than half of the approximately 12 meetings of the panchayat and nearly all of the monthly meetings of the cooperative society in his headquarters village. He carried on animal castration and helped a farmer secure an improved plow. He completed his register showing the number of bighas of land each farmer in his circle had in different crops and their plans for the coming season. He organised and participated in shramdan, and repaired four culverts.

Result Demonstration: The U.P. Method and Hail

Govind said his best result demonstration in the previous rabi season concerned the U. P. Method of wheat cultivation. This was one of four demonstrations Govind carried on that season in his headquarter's village. The others involved seed varieties, line sowing and use of insecticides. Again he worked with the same large land owner Mr. P. Manesh.

The U. P. Method had been discussed in September at the Rabi campaign camp which Manesh had attended. Later in October when Manesh went to block headquarters to get seed, he happened to mention to the VLW and ADO agriculture that he was not satisfied with the "stand" he had gotten using manure on his wheat.

They suggested that he should try superphosphate. After further discussions he reported he agreed to put on a demonstration of this fertilizer.

In November, two one-half acre plots were laid out and carefully prepared for sowing. Improved seeds were treated with agrosan for smut. Compost was applied to both plots, but superphosphate only to the experimental plot. The block supplied a new device for sowing, but it got closed up and the showing was done in the usual way.

When the seed were sown Govind was with Manesh and his servants and he visited the plots several times during cultivation. The ADO agriculture paid one visit to the plots. At that time Manesh commented that he could not tell any difference between the two plots. The ADO agreed but told the farmer to wait and see the difference in the final yield. The ADO panchayat and the SEO also saw the demonstration plot, but only casually. Just before the harvest a hail storm partially destroyed the crop.

When the plots were harvested the only people at the site were the demonstrator farmer and his labourers. Because of the partial loss the results of the demonstration were not conclusive. Further, there were varying reports on the difference in yield between the plots. Manesh reported that there were 25 seers difference but the VLW stated the plot with superphosphate yielded one and a half maunds more than the control plot. The agriculture ADO reported no real difference in yields. No one kept any records and no one remembered the total yield of either plot.

Govind reported that after the demonstration he told a few people in different villages who knew Manesh about the demonstration. Manesh stated he "perhaps" had talked with a few farmers about the experience. But, except for the hail storm, Govind was satisfied with the success of this demonstration. He had classed it his best because all other demontrations were hurt worse by the hail. Nevertheless he could think of no shortcomings or criticisms to make of it as a good result demonstration.

And indeed, a number of features were commendable. It had emerged naturally from both the needs of the farmer and the programme of the block. It grew spontaneously out of the good contacts between the farmer and the block staff. Its location near a road where many people could see it was also in its favour. In addition there is much evidence of the application of technical knowledge to make sure that the series of practices involved in the U. P.

Method were carried out. Land was carefully prepared, good "treated" seed was used, compost was applied, and line sowing was followed.

Short-Comings in Influence

As an educational device however, many short-comings are apparent. First, since this was the first demonstration conducted with Manesh, one might question the advisability of using such a large number of practices as those encompassed in the U. P. Method. Second, the purposes of the demonstration either as to practices to be proved or people to be influenced were not clear either to the VLW or the farmer. The VLW stated the demonstration was designed to exhibit the advantages of the U. P. Method. But the control and experimental plots differed only in regard to fertilizer. Indeed Manesh believed the demonstration was simply a fertilizer demonstration. He made no reference to the U. P. Method. One of the block staff said he didn't know what the U. P. Method was except all the good practices in agriculture.

As to the persons the demonstration was intended to influence. Manesh, who interpreted the demonstration as one on superphosphate, already used superphosphate. On the other hand, no indication was received from anyone that it was designed to influence other villagers.

Whatever the purposes, the influence of the demonstration on the practices either of the demonstrator farmer or of other villagers seems slight indeed. Manesh was not convinced in a conclusive way even of use of superphosphate. He was not using it at the time of the investigation though he had used it earlier, and according to him, none of the other villagers were using superphosphate that year.

As for influence upon other villagers, neither of the two interviewed understood anything about the demonstration though both men, the president of the cooperative society and the president of the panchayat had known Manesh since childhood and were his house neighbours and close friends. One reported the demonstration was on compost manure. The other could describe none of its basic features.

To Govind, however, the demonstration had proved successful. He reported that this year Manesh was using all the practices involved in the demonstration with one exception—superphosphate. Hence, the VLW interpreted, he was following most of the U.P. method.

Weak supervision and cooperation between the various parts of the block team is also apparent in the facts of the demonstration. The instructions given by the block to the VLW concerned only the types of demonstrations to be carried out. On the steps to be taken, on who the demonstration should influence, or on how the demonstrator should be selected the gram sevak received no guidance.

Further, there was no follow up of the demonstration on the part of either the VLW or any of the block staff. The hail storm reduced the yield and muddled the results, but no one sought to find out why Manesh was not convinced of the usefulness of superphosphate. And no one had explained to the farmer what the U. P. Method was and why it was advantageous.

Carrying Out Instructions.... with a Few

Little pattern or organized arrangement of effort is evident in Govind's work. He sees individuals and talks with them; he goes to meetings of cooperatives and panchayats and discusses proposals with them, but seldom is there evidence of preparation for or follow-up of these contacts. His activities, more often than not are comprised of detached and separate incidents; they do not exhibit an overall design geared to long range goals.

Neither does this man work with many people. For the most part of the people he talked with about line sowing and fertilizer distribution were those with whom he already had worked. The same names are noted frequently in the activities described. Members of the block staff all reported he worked mainly with progressive farmers or influential people rather than with a wider range of ordinary villagers.

Lukewarm Feelings and Little Spark

There were no strong feelings of any kind about Govind and his work. His relations with the block staff and with villagers were of a lukewarm, tepid quality. He had had only routine visits from his superiors and these were few in number. As for villagers Govind contended he had frequent and cooperative relationships with them. Being a brahmin helped him in his work. But his superiors claimed he worked with villagers only "fairly well."

The block staff was also hard pressed to enumerate Govind's accomplishments. One mentioned his work with line sowing; another referred to fertilizer distribution and another said simply he couldn't think of anything in particular. Govind himself had

no ready answer. At length he cited the establishment of a seed store, getting compost pits built and influencing people to use legume crops, none of which had been in the minds of village or staff colleagues. Thus no clear picture of what he had been able to do as a VLW seemed to exist in his or others' minds.

This was also true of the concept people had of the man himself. He was neither held in every low nor very high regard. Several persons were unable to make any comments about his strengths or his weaknesses. One or two said Govind had "good points" but they were unable to specify any particular ones. On weaknesses, some said he didn't work "as hard as many", and others reported he was casual; he took too many things too lightly and did not discriminate between the important and the unimportant.

His image was a blur. He was there as a worker and his associates knew he carried out routine matters, but there was no individuality or spark of inspiration about him. There was neither warm goodwill nor strong dislike for him. Most people were indifferent toward him.

The same lukewarmness describes Govind's own feelings about himself and his work. If there was no evidence of a serious interest in his job, neither was there any abhorrence of what he was and what he did. Community Development was "good", but he couldn't command anything more specific for his comment. He could not say anything in particular that he disliked about his work, though he felt "there should be team spirit among the workers, at least more than there is". Yet there was nothing he particularly liked about his job either. Thus, while he did not have very low morale, he was only mildly interested in his work, neither particularly frustrated by its obstacles nor particularly engaged by its challenge.

SECTION 3

The Role Seekers

CASE 9

I.–CARRY OUT ORDERS

Mr. Babulal, a young man of 25 years of age was shy in his looks and hesitant in talking. He was married and belonged to a Scheduled caste group. Both he and his wife were born and brought up in a village. He was educated up to Matric. In addition to this, he received one and a half years of training for the job of VLW. He has no other job experience. He has been a VLW for the last two and a half years and for all this period he had been posted in the same block and the same circle of villages.

There are twelve villages in his circle. The headquarters village has a population of five hundred and fifty-six people. The total population of all his villages is approximately five thousand. Eight villages of his circle are accessible all the year round by bicycle. In his circle there are six panchayats, five cooperative societies, seven primary schools, and four sports clubs. Eighty per cent of the population in his circle are Jats. About seventy-five per cent of the families in his circle are farmers.

The three activities on which he spent the most time during the month were:–

1. Wheat seed distribution.
2. Repair of a drinking water well.
3. Rabi Campaign

Wheat Seed Distribution

The VLW was given a yearly target for seed distribution by the block. One day he happened to pick up a sample of wheat seed from the Government Seed Store at the block headquarters. On his way home, he met a farmer with whom he started talking about the good seed. The farmer agreed to buy some of this improved seed and on the next day he purchased five maunds from the Government store. This farmer talked to another farmer and he in his turn came to the VLW for seed. Mr. Babulal told him where and how to get the seed. Next day according to the VLW this man also purchased the seed. He called a meeting in one of his villages. This meeting was attended by 16 farmers. In the meeting a group of

58—CD&C

farmers showed their willingness to purchase about ten maunds of wheat seed. The VLW did not receive any kind of help from the block staff in this work.

Repair of Drinking Water Well

Work on this started quite accidentally. One day the VLW was passing by the side of a well and he saw some mosquitoes. One of the members of the village panchayat lived close to this well. He called the panchayat member and started talking about the muck around the well. One cobbler who was passing by also joined in the talk. The VLW explained to them that mosquitoes are very dangerous to health. The three together decided to call a village meeting that night. The meeting was held and twenty persons participated in it. The villagers agreed to contribute their share in the repairs of the well and the VLW assured them of the block's contribution. However nothing concrete had happened. The failure to execute the work was attributed by the VLW to the fact that farmers were very busy in agriculture work.

Rabi Campaign

This activity was initiated in one of the block meetings. In this meeting instructions and targets were read out by the BDO to all the VLWs. Soon after the meeting the VLW started working on this programme. On his way home, he met a farmer on the road and explained to him the rabi campaign programme. Next day he went to a village in his circle and happened to find a group of seven people in a choupal. He started talking to them about the rabi campaign and good seeds. According to the VLW two farmers promised him they would purchase five maunds of seed. Then he went to different villages in his circle and called village meetings. Some of these meetings were called at noon and some were in the evening whenever he reached the village.

Result Demonstration: Use of Fertilizer on Wheat

The block had fixed a certain target of result demonstrations for Mr. Babulal. Within this target he had a demonstration in the field of Shri Makhan Singh. This he described as his best result demonstration in the last rabi season. The purpose of the demonstration according to VLW was to show the effectiveness of a combination of three improved practices on wheat. The three practices involved in the demonstration were the use of fertilizer, use of improved seed and the right amount of irrigation. However the purpose of the demonstration in the words of the farmer was to establish the effectiveness of fertilizer on wheat. According to both

the VLW and the farmer the fertilizer in question was already in use in the village. The demonstrator farmer himself has used it on his other crops.

The VLW visited Shri Makhan Singh twice before the actual sowing of the demonstration plot. He himself helped the farmer in laying the demonstration and applying the fertilizer. About four persons were present at the sowing of the plot. The demonstration had four plots each of 1/8th of an acre in size. According to the VLW in the first plot all the three practices were used. In the second plot, local seed, no fertilizer and no irrigation was used. The third plot was the same as one and the fourth plot was the same as the second one.

The demonstration was located near the village and could be seen by everybody in the village. Sometime during its growth the Agriculture Extension Officer inspected the plot. Except this visit nobody from the block visited the demonstration. The VLW visited the plot 6 or 7 times. However, he was not present at the time of harvesting the demonstration plot.

Neither the VLW nor the demonstrator farmer knew of the net difference in the yields from the different plots. The demonstrator told us that the wheat in the fertilizer plots was much higher as compared to wheat in other plots. The VLW also remembered noticing this difference.

When asked to evaluate this demonstration in terms of its effect on other farmers, the VLW said, "Nobody follows all the three practices involved in the demonstration." Continuing, he said probably some farmers "must be following the demonstration in parts". The demonstration farmer himself did not use the fertilizer on his present rabi crop.

Strong Points of the Demonstration

1. It was located on the best site possible for any demonstration—near the village where everyone could see it.
2. Its lay-out was sound with two sets of experimental and controlled plots.

Weak Points of the Demonstration :

1. Both the VLW and the farmer had quite different purposes for the demonstration. There seemed to be either a block in communication between the VLW and the farmer, or there was very little planning between the two.

2. The VLW's visits were unplanned and at most of the visits no one else was present.
3. The technical help from the block was limited. Only one visit was made by the Agricultural EO. The visit was not planned. It did not coincide with any of the critical operations of the practices involved.
4. The VLW was not present at the time of harvesting nor is there evidence that the farmer cut the plot seperately since no one knew the difference in actual yields.
5. There was no follow up. The demonstrator farmer himself was not using the fertilizer. The VLW himself did not know about any definite influence of the demonstration on any other farmer in the village.

Characteristics of His Work and Methods

He showed no system or pattern of work. He proceeded "by-chance." This is borne out again and again in the preceding descriptions of his activities. He seldom thought about the appropriate time for any activity nor did he show any concern or awareness about the effectiveness or end result of his work. If rabi meetings were desired in each village, they were held in each village. The outcome of these meetings was of little concern to him. People were asked to do things and he was satisfied with collecting promises from the farmers.

He exhibited a complete lack of planning in his work. His activity with respect to the drinking water well is an example of it. Here he was passing by a well, saw some mosquitoes, talked to a cobbler and a panchayat member and decided to have a meeting that very night. The meeting was held, the villagers promised their contributions and then nothing happened either to the well or to the mosquitoes.

His work was oriented primarily to carry out the orders and instructions of the block irrespective of other considerations. What mattered to him was ritualistic obedience to the desires of his superiors.

Morale

Important to his morale are his social environment, the block organization and his own thinking and feelings.

The local institutions and the people are the two vital factors in the social situation within which he has to work. In terms of social institutions his circle seems typical of those in the block.

There are six panchayats, five credit societies, and seven primary schools in his circle. However, there is very little evidence to show that he had any relationship to them. In none of his activities were these institutions mentioned. The representatives of these institutions who were interviewed had no knowledge of his activities and showed no interest in him or his work. Thus neither does the VLW care for these institutions nor do they take any notice of him.

The comments of the block staff confirmed this conclusion. His superiors made such remarks as : "The VLW lacks in methods." "He cannot work with groups." "His methods of work are not good." "He cannot work with influential villagers; he generally works with a few isolated lower class people."

Neither did he fit well into the block structure. Several of the staff said "He fails to get the job done." Others noted he was not a good mixer. In other words the VLW occupies a place on the margin or fringe of the block administrative organization. The block staff felt he lacked intelligence and professional skills.

Lastly his morale is also affected by his own thinking and feeling towards the programme in general, and toward his work in particular. In spite of his difficulties, he expressed satisfaction with and confidence in his work. He said, "Both I and my wife like this job. I have no frustration in my work. I like other people working together". His conception about his work as a VLW seems to be very incomplete. According to him the most important activities for a VLW are organizing of singing, dramatic and recreation parties, running arts and crafts centres for women and children and educating the villagers.

In view of his not being accepted by either the block or the majority of the villagers his positive feeling toward his work is difficult to explain. It seems to result from his low levels of aspiration and expectation. From the programme he expects little beyond just having a job. The fact that he is a VLW makes him feel quite satisfied. He said, "Whatever ideas and feelings the higher ups have for the programme, I think it my duty to support them." He had no ideas of his own. His identity was in the officers who employed him. Little wonder he had no frustrations from the job. He felt quite happy and satisfied with anything and everything for he had little if any of himself involved or at stake.

CASE 10

OBEDIENCE AND CHANCE CONTACTS

SHRI Anokhee is of medium height, slender, soft spoken and shy. He comes from a scheduled cast family, is twenty-nine years of age and married to a village girl. He has one child, a daughter one year old. He was born and brought up in a village of around 2000 people about thirty miles from his present headquarters. His father, a labourer, made ropes for his living, and as a child Anokhee helped in this work. During vacations he also worked as labourer. At the time he became a VLW, he had passed his High School Examination.

He had one and a half years training at a VLW training centre before being posted a year and a half ago in his present circle. It has seven villages and a total population of 6841. His headquarters village with 2557 people is the largest. It is five miles from block and 3 miles from district headquarters. The smallest village has a population of 290.

All his villages are close to a city and are connected with pucca roads through approach roads. He can reach all his villages all year on a bicycle. He said that he makes as many as 20 nighthalts in a month when his wife is away.

Nearly all the pepole of his circle are engaged in agriculture. Major crops are paddy, sugarcane, and wheat. The largest of the caste groups in his circle, the Kanwal group, contains about 40 per cent. of the total population and ranks itself socially as about the equal of Rajputs.

Potato Seed Distribution

During the preceding month the three activities on which Anokhee had spent the most time were: potato seed distribution, dibbling method demonstration, and a line sowing demonstration. He explained that the potato seed distribution developed into an emergency. In September a high official visiting the district headquarters emphasized to the various staffs the importance of vegetable growing. The block development officer later discussed with his staff increasing potato cultivation as a means of implementing the official's ideas. In the September monthly staff meeting the VLW was told that

potato seeds would be available soon and that he should secure the demands for seed from his circle. In early October Anokhee reported the demand of five maunds of potato seed. It was then time to plant, but the seed had not come. Many farmers therefore purchased seed from the market.

At the end of October the seed arrived for block distribution. Though his original "demand" had been only five maunds and though many of his farmers had already purchased their seed, nevertheless, Anokhee was asked to sell 15 maunds of the newly arrived seed. The problem was further complicated by two facts: the Government selling price was five rupees higher than the market price and the late-arriving seed had already begun rotting.

Anokhee said he raised these difficulties with the BDO, but he refused to accept them. These were finer quality potatoes and would be more palatable, the BDO contended. As far as the rotten seeds were concerned the VLW was allowed to discard them and their cost was to be shared by himself, the BDO, and the block agriculture officer.

He then first approached a farmer with a large holding. Anokhee knew he was planning to plant potatoes in the summer. So he told him he had an offer that would enable him to have a winter potato crop as well. He would furnish seed for the winter crop immediately and would not require payment until the crop was harvested. The farmer agreed and under these terms took twelve maunds of the potato seeds.

Of the remaining seed, he sold one half to a farmer who was under obligation to him for getting him a loan for irrigation and the other half to a neighbour with whom he had good contact.

Dibbling Method Demonstrations

Such demonstrations were a part of the regular rabi campaign programme. Anokhee had worked on two of them during the month. First he asked one Mr. Singh to permit a dibbler demonstration on his land. He agreed and promised on the following day to bring labourers and to sow one fourth of an acre according to the dibbling method and the remaining by the line method. When the VLW reached the field the next day he found that the farmer had already sown all his field except a very small patch by traditional method. The farmer explained he couldn't get any labour and therefore couldn't wait. The VLW then approached the village school master and requested that he allow some of his students to help him lay

the dibbler method demonstration. With their help the demonstration was carried out. One neighbour farmer watched the process. Anokhee had since visited the site once.

The second such demonstration was in a village where he had some contact with the extension teacher in the school. The compost inspector had asked the teacher to have such a demonstration at the school on a certain day. The teacher asked the VLW to come and carry it out. He came and with the student's help, executed the demonstration. The VLW was surprised when the compost inspector arrived with the district assistant agricultural officer to supervise the demonstration.

Line Sowing

His target for the rabi campaign had been 200 acres in line sowing. During the previous month Anokhee helped seven families each establish a one acre plot in line sowing. Five of these seven farmers had attended the rabi camp where they had learned of the advantage of this method.

His work with Shri Lal of Nirpur illustrates his approach to the problem. He met Shri Lal about the 13th of November and found out that he had some fallow land. Anokhee told him that since such land has more nitrogen it was particularly adapted to line sowing and asked him to try it. He agreed. One week later Lal's labourers sowed one acre in lines. Neither the VLW nor the owner was present. Later Shri Lal told Anokhee that if he had been present, he would have had the entire field sowed in lines.

Result Demonstration: Wheat and a Soil Turning Plow

Anokhee stated he had 120 result demonstrations as his target that year. He had put on thirty-five demonstrations during the previous rabi season. The best of these was an "implemental result demonstration" he said. The purpose was to show the comparative effectiveness of the soil turning plow as against the traditional or old type plow. The demonstration was carried out in connection with a wheat crop on the farm of Shri Beer in the village of Khandwa.

The VLW "happened" to talk to this farmer and three or four others about trying out the soil turning plow, but only Mr. Beer agreed to have the demonstration. Shri Beer had lived in the village all his 25 years and owned 45 acres of irrigated land. Anokhee told him how to use the soil turning plow and where to lay the demonstration.

The demonstration plot was located in between fields, near an orchard, and away from any road or path. According to Anokhee this location was selected to protect the demonstration from stray cattle. The plot was of one acre size and divided into two equal parts. Shri Beer had told the servants how to use the plow and, though neither he nor the VLW were there at planting, one half acre was ploughed with the soil turning plow and the other half acre with traditional plow. All other factors such as the variety of wheat seed and the kind and amount of fertilizer were held constant.

Anokhee first visited the plot after ploughing was finished. The farmer and his servants were also there. After germination but before harvesting he saw the demonstration three times—each time alone. Anokhee, Shri Beer, his servants and three neighbours witnessed the threshing. The VLW weighed the wheat from the two plots separately and found the plot plowed with the soil turning plow had yielded one-half maund more than the other plot.

Since then Anokhee had not been in touch with farmer Beer and did not know whether he had used the soil turning plow further or not. Beer reported entire satisfaction with the operation; he planned the same demonstration next season.

There had been no occasion for help from anyone of the block Anokhee stated. None of them nor any members of the panchayat or co-operative had seen the demonstration. Shri Chand of the village panchayat stated he had not heard of the soil turning plow demonstration on Shri Beer's farm, but he reported he owns such a plow. He purchased it this year after he got the idea from some of his relatives in a nearby village.

Some Result in the End

With a target of 60 result demonstrations each season it is perhaps not surprising that, to Anokhee, "every demonstration is a result demonstration because you get some results in the end." He could add nothing in elaboration to this. Comparison, participation, changed views or habits went unrecognised as elements of the process. The demonstrator farmer was equally ignorant; he intended to carry out the same demonstration next year.

The "best" demonstration was so defined because of its yield. No concept of the effect of the demonstration on the cultivator or other cultivators in the village seemed to be present. Yet there were some things about the demonstration that were effective. Technically the process was adequate. Local proof of the advantage of the

soil turning plough was achieved through a comparison of half acre plots varied only in this regard. The one-half maund greater yield was a satisfactory demonstration of advantage. The VLW showed sincere interest in the demonstration and good relations between him and cultivator.

On the other hand many elements of the demonstration process were neglected. Some people were already using the soil turning plow. No effort was made to determine how many were using the plow and whether the demonstration was worthwhile or how those already using could help the demonstration. There was no supervision by appropriate members of the block team. The VLW had not consulted with the BDO or with other officers directly concerned with agriculture. No block officers had visited the demonstration at any time.

No thought was given to the selection of the farmer—th VLW accidentally ran into him. His having much larger holdings then the average was not considered in relation to the probable influence of the demonstration process.

No conscious concern was given to the educational process. No effort was made to get people to see the demonstration. The location of the plot was poor—in the centre of fields away from paths and roads. The VLW visited the plot five times, but he was not there when the plowing was done. He did not talk with the farmer nor did he explain to others. No signs were displayed. There was no follow-up in terms of reporting results of the demonstration to individuals or in meetings. No effort was made to find out the number of neighbours who had seen the demonstration or applied the practice.

Further the VLW had not made a critical analysis of the demonstration for future improvement. He said he would not do anything differently in setting up a similar demonstration in future.

"I ran into this Farmer"

The main characteristics of Anokhee's ways of working is isolated individual contacts. He seldom puts anything before a group. He was reported absent from panchayat and coop meetings. He works only with a few isolated individuals and this work is far from systematic. "I happened to see Mr. 'X'," or "I ran into this farmer"—these are the typical ways he begins an operation. And what he starts to do is always the latest thing he had been instructed to do. Whatever he has been most recently ordered to do he tries to do with whomever he meets. There is little follow through. His aim seems

primarily to be securing a commitment from someone that they will do something the block has ordered him to get done. Each effort is an isolated event, apparently unrelated to any long-range goals or programme.

He tries to carry out block instructions without any effort to grasp their basic meaning and general significance. As a contributor to the programme he is merely an errand boy and a none-too-effective transmitter of communications from the block to the village. He seems to use whatever pressure he can muster at the moment to secure a commitment. In the case of the potato seed sale he made any promises to one farmer without thinking how he could fulfil them. Similarly he did not hesitate to exert indirect pressure on another farmer to accept the potato seeds he himself had no faith and just to carry out the instructions mainly of the BDO and agriculture officer. In none of the above activity did he use any systematic approach or recognized extension method.

"No One Makes Me Feel Like a Big Officer."

It was apparent that Anokhee had few satisfactions from his work. Neither he nor his associates in the block or village could name any particular thing he had accomplished. He was shy, did not make contacts easily. His being of a scheduled caste contributed to this. The villagers reported they saw him very seldom. Both the block staff and villagers reported that scheduled caste people were the only ones who accepted him. "He can't help it," they added, "but he just doesn't meet people much." One staff member reported he had an inferiority complex.

His inability to relate the specific demands of his day to day work to any underlying principles or policies left him with little intellectual support for his work. He was cut loose from any anchorage within himself and seemed to depend for his stability primarily upon unthinking acceptance of instructions from above. This was particularly illustrated when, in his attempt to say something in response to a question about what he thought of the programme, he first was unable to articulate anything, and then finally simply blurted out, "Whatever the officers above me say, should be right, and is right."

But though he thus identified himself with orders from above, he did not feel "at home." He know he was not accepted by his superiors. "No one makes me feel like a big officer," he said plaintively.

CASE 11

"THE MUSIC OF HARMONIUM"

SHRI Vikram Singh was a slightly built, anxious, uneasy, and shy young man of 25 years of age. He had been a VLW for only two months. He was born of a Jat family in a village of 10,000 about 90 miles from his present headquarters. He had had 12 years of schooling and 6 months of extension training for the VLW's job.

Vikram Singh, was recently married to a village girl, but his wife does not live with him. She stays with his father now 82 years of age in the home village where the family owns land. Mr. Singh had been away from his home over four months and was anxious to see his father, but his job did not permit visits. He had applied for a transfer.

He was living in a room at a choupal in his headquarters village. There were only three other villages in his circle but its total population was about 17,000. The largest caste group were the Jats. Most people are directly dependent on agriculture. The major crops are sugarcane, wheat, cotton and gram.

There were four panchayats, four schools, one maternity centre, two libraries, and one youth club, but no dispensary or health centre.

His headquarters has a post office and is on a pucca road. From there it is only two miles to block headquarters, but 28 miles to district headquarters. All his villages are approachable by cycle the year round. He says he has to spend 3 to 4 hours a day on the road.

During the week previous to the team's visit Vikram Singh had been working on four main activities. They were: (1) small savings; (2) lucky bag campaign; (3) seed treatment demonstration; and (4) help in laying a model farm.

Small Savings

At the previous fortnightly meeting the Block Development Officer asked the VLW's to solicit people for small savings invest-

ments. Vikram Singh, first attracted groups by playing on the harmonium. When they gathered he told them of the plan and the need for such investment. He also visited 10 or 11 influential people individually. But he had had no results because he said, "people do not have money and this kind of campaign takes time." This had taken 75 per cent. of his time during the last week. No one else from the block had been involved.

Lucky Bag Campaign

At a fortnightly meeting the Block Development Officer suggested to work on this. He had first approached the panchayat and "explained" the campaign in the panchayat meeting. However there was no response from the panchayat and the panchayat members suggested the VLW contact people and seek their contributions. He said he had been in all of the villages and had seen people both individually and in meetings but had had little response. When asked to explain what the Lucky Bag Campaign was, he said it was a way to invest money, but he admitted he did not know anything more about it. He was also not aware of the difference between this campaign and the small savings campaign. He said that the BDO suggested working on both the items so he is working on both.

Seed Treatment Demonstration

In the regular block meeting the VLW was told by the Agricultural Extension Officer that this was the time to get seeds treated. Later Vikram Singh had the village chowkidars announce that seed should now be treated and that people should get in touch with the VLW for this purpose. He held two meetings about this and talked to various individuals. He also gave a method demonstration on how to treat the seeds. About 100 people came from his four villages for the chemical to treat seeds but not all of them bought it.

Planning A Model Farm

Vikram Singh had become friendly with a cultivator and had persuaded him to establish a model farm. He had then asked the Agriculture Extension Officer to advice them on this. When he came the three of them planned the model farm. The execution of the plans was to begin next crop season.

Other Activities

Fertilizers and increased food production had engaged much of Vikram Singh's time during his two months. He had been told about the rabi season campaign by the Agriculture Extension Officer and he had held a meeting in his village about it. He did not have a written plan of work, and had been unable to do any planning in connection with it. So far as he knows none of the farmers in his circle follow an agriculture production plan.

He was working on five result demonstrations started by the previous VLW. These related to sugarcane, wheat and cotton crops. One of them concerned the use of insecticide, which he said, was being used on one patch of cotton but not on another.

Music to His Rescue

Though there is little data on which to base conclusions about Vikram Singh's work, one or two things may be said. It is clear that in this early stage of his career he is primarily following instructions from block officers. All, except one, of the activities upon which he worked were initiated by his superiors. None of his work stemmed from the desires or initiative of the villagers. At this time in his experience this is to be expected. Whether he develops greater capacity or initiative and the identification and utilization of villages needs and interests, however may be related to the kind of supervision he gets and to the orientation to his work given by his superiors in these early months of service. And there was little to suggest any effort was being made to give him needed guidance.

His work fell exclusively into two fields, "investment" and agriculture. So far nothing had been done in areas such as sanitation, public facilities etc. His work seems to depend heavily upon his talent on the harmonium. He attracts people by playing. Then he tells them what he wants them to know. In limited degrees, he also used individual contacts, announcements by the village chowkidar, and method demonstration. But he betitled extension methods saying, "People will always come around when I play and sing."

Lonely and Insecure

Feelings about Vikram Singh had not capitalized. The BDO said people liked his playing and singing on harmonium; he seemed to use it effectively. He felt he was a good "social reformer," but

while it was too early to judge clearly, he had not been very careful about his work and didn't carry out instructions well. This reaction was characteristic.

And the new Gram Sevak apparently had difficulty securing co-operation and building good relationships among the people with whom he worked. While he said he had the co-operation of the agriculture extension officer, the BDO, one of the school teachers, and the panchayat secretary, he stated he did not get the full backing of the panchayat extension officer, the president of the panchayat, the cooperative secretary, the cooperative president and the patwari. He had talked with the panchayat president a number of times about the need for different improvements, but he had not paid much attention to him. The patwari, he said, challenged his authority and made the farmers feel that the patwari was the only one who could help them.

Vikram Singh's morale was not the poorest, but neither was it healthy. He sees his job as informing people, explaining things to people, taking villagers' needs to authorities who can do something about them. He liked his job in that "one can do some good while filing his own stomach." But he wasn't satisfied.

He was idealistic in his desire to help the villagers. He wanted to "inspire the people" and make them development minded, but he found the villagers "backward" and unresponding. He was not family. He said plaintively that he had come from a good home. sure of what lay ahead for him and was anxious to be near his Now he had to do his own cooking and the choupal room he used was not as good as the house of the average villager. He felt frustrated, lonely and insecure.

CASE 12

COMPLACENCY AND A GOLDEN TONGUE

SHRI Pandharee is a poised, but talkative gram sevak. He had been in the same block since April 1956, and in his present circle about a year and a half. He is a young man, twenty-four years of age. Born in a village, his family moved to a city when he was five years old. Here his father worked as a clerk and ran a grocers shop. After Pandharee was educated up to high school he worked for a while as a teacher in one of the middle schools at district headquarters. Then he took one and a half years of training for his VLW job.

Married, with two children, he and his family live in his headquarters village in a pucca house with minimum facilities. There is no latrine, water pump or smokeless chula.

About 6,775 people live in the 21 villages of his circle. The smallest village has a population of only 60 while the largest has about 2,000 people. From Raisen, his headquarters with 1226 people the farthest village is about 7 miles. A pucca road through his headquarters goes to the block office 14 miles away and to the district headquarters 48 miles distant. He spends about an hour and a half per day "on the road". In the month preceeding he had made 15 night halts.

His circle has three panchayats, eight primary schools, six co-operatives, six community centres, two mahila mandals, one dispensary, one maternity centre, one library and one youth and recreation club. There is no high school or hospital. Nearly all people are dependent on agriculture. The Meos, a Muslim subdivision is the majority group in his circle.

Compost Pits

Getting farmers to construct these had taken more of Shri Pandharee's time than any other activity the previous month. Its origin dated back several months. In November a State compost officer suggested each VLW saturate at least one of his villages with compost pits. In December this suggestion was discussed in the block staff meeting and in February, in the block samiti meeting. Here the proposal was accepted. Pandharee first placed the idea before

the panchayat of his headquarters village. It accepted the plan and selected Raisen village for its execution. The gram sevak then went about the village determining who needed compost pits. Afterwards submitted a list to the panchayat. With the help of the village chowkidar the panchayat announced the names of these persons and gave them one month's time in which to complete the new pits. Though at first there had been some opposition to this announcement, at the time of the research teams visit about 15 pits had been completed and others had been started. Pandharee was waiting for the expiry of the one month's period before taking further steps. He had neither asked nor received any help from block superiors on this project.

Increasing Co-operative Membership

On March 6th Pandharee had had a village meeting in Naumpa. About 40 villagers attended and, he said, as usual he talked about all the items in the block programme. One was about the benefits of becoming a member of the village co-operative society. The advantages he emphasised were the case of getting good seeds, fertilizers and credit through a co-operative society.

He noted a spark of interest in some villagers while he was speaking on this point. He therefore developed this into the major theme of his talk. At the close of the meeting many villagers came to him and said they wanted to join the co-operative. Thus encouraged he made a night halt in the village, and in the morning some 16 farmers came to him with their money for shares in the village society.

None of the other members of the block team figured in this activity of the VLW. The coop EO knew of the membership increase but was awaiting Pandharee's formal report to get the details.

Holi Festival Reform

Shri Pandharee had noted with dislike the villager's practice of splashing dirt and rubbish at each other during the Holi festival. He felt that the city practice of using only dry colours was much superior. This year therefore he had decided to see if this change could be made. First he had discussed his idea with the tehsil sarpanch*. He seemed to approve the change, so Pandharee then took it up with a group of young villagers with whom he played volley ball. In this way he introduced an informal discussion of the possible change. Later after discussion with some panches; he brought the proposal to the panchayat. This body approved and decided that each panch should carry the appeal to the people of his word, which they did.

---

* A position somewhat comparable to pradhan of the block samiti.

On the festival day at the village gathering around the Holi fire, the tehsil sarpanch urged the villagers not to use filth and rubbish but to substitute dry colours the next day. These efforts were rewarded. The gram sevak reported celebrators used only the colours. In addition, at the end of the jollity a group of youngesters had taken the occasion to serve the village by cleaning one of the village streets. No part had been played in this by any of the block staff.

Making the Village Street 'Pucca'

This had been one of Shri Pandharee's major projects in the previous year. He stated he had initiated the idea of paving the village market road in a discussion with his sarpanch about January 1959. The sarpanch liked the idea and he and the VLW began soliciting the shop-keepers along the street for contributions. Each was asked for about Rs. 12.00. When some of the shopkeepers objected or refused to contribute, Pandharee asked the BDO to come and talk to them. In two visits by him and several by other members of the block staff these contributions were obtained.

In March the block sanctioned its share of about Rs. 5000.00 and the panchayat hired a private contractor to do the work. After some time a road-roller was required. Through much effort this was secured from the district headquarters but only for four days. At the end of this time some small "gittee" still remained to be pressed, but the roller could not be kept and the Panchayat had been unable again to obtain it. So the work was at a standstill. Complaints had been made about the work not being completed, but with Panchayat Raj these were mainly directed against the panchayat instead of the block and the VLW.

Building a School

Sometime in 1958 both Pandharee and the social education officer became aware of a certain villager's interest in having a school. The SEO first explored possibilities with school authorities but found they could not help. He and the VLW then set out to see what the villagers might do. Sometimes in November they first arranged a cinema show in the village and though no decision was reached, much interest in the school was aroused in discussion that followed. Some of the villagers suggested another meeting be arranged after the villagers had a chance to discuss things among themselves.

Pandharee made two or three more visits to the village to keep in touch with local opinion. About January 1959 he organized the second meeting and the SEO helped. At this time it was decided to build the school. One man contributed land and many, money. In March the block sanctioned a grant of Rs. 1000 and work was began. Except for minor details the buildings had been completed in October, 1959.

RESULT DEMONSTRATION: Top Dressing with "Block" Fertilizer

In the previous rabi season the gram sevak had a target of six demonstrations. One of these six demonstrations was in the headquarters village. This he thought to be his best result demonstration because the farmer was satisfied, the yield was enough, and the agriculture EO saw it. It was a demonstration designed to convince the farmer that fertilizer would be good for his crop. It involved the use of ammonium sulphate as top dressing on wheat on the land of Shri Hammerjee.

Shri Hammerjee owned about 4 bighas of land. Pandharee chose him as the demonstrator because he said "he was the understanding type." In addition, his field was on a path and had good irrigation facilities. Here three equal plots were laid out. The same wheat seed was sown in each. After the crop had grown for a while one plot was given one "dose" of ammonium sulphate, another plot one and half doses and the third, or control plot, none. The number of irrigations was varied to compensate for the greater water required by fertilized crops. In comparison to the irrigation given to the control plot, the plot with one dose of fertiliser received one more irrigation and that of one and a half doses received two more irrigations. In all other respects the three plots received identical treatment.

When the wheat was harvested the VLW reported six or seven seers were garnered from the control plot, nine and a half seers from the single dose plot, and ten and a half seers from the third plot. At harvesting only the VLW and the farmer were present. When the yields were weighed two or three farmers in addition to the VLW and the demonstrator happened to be present. Some records were kept by the VLW and the agriculture EO. Here the demonstration ended. Asked what he did after the difference in yields were ascertained, Pandharee said. "After that the demonstration was finished and I had nothing else to do." There was no follow-up. The demonstrator did not talk to anyone and there

was no analysis of the process by any of the block staff. The influence of the demonstration upon either Shri Hammerjee or other farmers is open to question. Though certain technical practices were effectively supervised no one seemed convinced of anything in particular as result of this demonstration. Pandharee said he thought three or four farmers not previosuly using this fertiliser had purchased some since the harvesting. But none of four villagers interviewed, each of whom knew Hammerjee closely and two of whom were neighbours knew anything about the demonstration. Shri Hammerjee, himself raised many doubts about the meaning to him of the whole process. He knew ammonium sulphate merely as "the block fertiliser". He had known of a farmer who had used this fertilizer mixed with seed. The difference in yield in this case was more as compared to his. In this rabi season, he therefore, on his own was trying the use of this fertilizer mixed with seed in place of using it for top dressing as was demonstrated to him.

Always on the Move

Talkative and animated, Shri Pandharee was "always on the move". He was "always talking", and "very enthusiastic", the "social type", a "good mixer". That his glit tongue and restless movement could sometime though not always cover the lack of solid painstaking work is demonstrated in the comment by some of his superiors that he was a little lazy at times. Further, his contacts appeared limited only to those most closely related to his projects. There was little evidence of his friendliness with ordinary villagers.

He was sometimes a systematic worker. His successful Holi reform and the school building activity reveal this.

Since Panchayat Raj, he had become particularly responsive to panchayats, cooperatives and local leaders. He was reported to have taken more care since then to explain things to the panches and to give timely information on fertilisers and seeds.

His relationships and communication with the block staff were not of the best. Members of this team characterised the way he got along with them any where from "very well", to just "fairly well". His use of the specialists was restricted. He seldom took any problems to them.

This did no seem to color his attitude towards his superiors however. He said when he became a VLW he expected to have "good relations" with the staff and, he stated "I have them". His outlook

was outgoing and positive. He liked agriculture work, but disliked "unnecessary paper work". Of all the things he had accomplished in his villages he was most proud of his circle having grown enough good wheat seed to become an agency of supply to the other circles in the block. He was also proud of organising "Bharat-Dharsan" trips for two groups of farmers.

CASE 13

NEEDS A HELPING HAND

SHRI Shanker Lal was a short, stocky, alert, affable young man of 22 years from a local Jat family. Born and reared in a village where his joint family owns 55 bighas of land, he was educated up to Matric. After one year as a village school teacher he had one and a half years training for VLW and was posted in April 1956 to his present block and circle. He is unmarried and lives in an average village house.

Comprised of 18 villages within a radius of eight miles from his headquarters his circle has a population of about 6700 people. Piplod the headquarters village, is the largest having about 1800 people while the smallest has 320 people. A post office is located in Piplod but the nearest pucca road is one mile distant and from there the block and district offices are four and 31 miles respectively. His circle has a reasonable number of social institutions. There are seven primary schools, two middle schools, two libraries, five Panchayats and five cooperative societies. Other institutions include five mahila mandals, six community centres, five community listening sets and one maternity centre. No hospital or dispensary is located in his circle.

Nearly all the people of his circle are directly dependant on agriculture. Most of them are "Ahirs". Their main crops are wheat, bajara, mustard and gram.

Distribution of Fertilizer

This was the work which had taken more time than any other work in the previous month. It arose out of farmers needs and his own initiative. He said he had no occasion to be in touch with any of his superiors about it.

In the normal rounds of his circle he learned there was some demand for fertilizer from farmers planting vegetables, onions and tobacco. He decided on two days when he could help on this and announced that all who were interested in fertilizer should see him at his headquarters on these days. At that time for those farmers

not members of a cooperative society he filled in certain papers ("bonds") to enable them to get the fertilizer. With the help of the coop, he distributed about 11 maunds of ammonium-sulphate, two or three maunds in his headquarters village and the rest throughout his circle.

Organization of Women's Club

This activity, also had taken much of Shri Shanker Lal's time in the previous month. It had begun two or three months earlier. In his visits to his circle at that time a teacher in each of two villages asked him to help them secure loans through the block in order to obtain sewing machines. He told them they didn't need to get loans and repay them in order to have a sewing machine. If their wives would agree to be responsible for mahila mandals and teach village women, the block would supply not only the sewing machine but also other equipment such as embroidery materials, a smokeless chula etc. In addition the club leaders would be paid Rs. 15/- per month. After some discussion over several weeks, their wives agreed to undertake the responsibility.

After a similar agreement was reached with a widow who had a small livelihood in a third village, the three clubs were organized. When these steps had been taken, he asked the block to issue the usual materials and equipment to each group. The BDO sanctioned the issue of equipment and allowed the block jeep to transport it to the VLW's headquarters. The SEO and the block gram sevika helped in this move. From here it was picked up by the organizers of the respective clubs. The gram sevika continued to help the clubs function.

Drinking Water Wells

In a village about three miles from his headquarters, the Muslim and scheduled caste groups each asked the VLW for help in building a drinking water well. After the requests were made specific Shanker Lal sent them to the block office. From here they were routed to the village panchayat. After recommendations from the VLW, the patwari, and the sarpanch, the applications were discussed and considered in the panchayat and money for both the wells was sanctioned.

At the time of the construction of the wells the gram sevak asked the sarpanch and the panches to help in getting villagers to participate, but somehow they felt unable or unwilling to help. He spent much time thereafter securing villagers' contributions.

The only contact any of the block had with this work was the action by the BDO ordering the overseer to inspect the construction of the wells.

Building a Cooperative Seed Store

In the previous year one of the projects on which Shanker Lal had worked was the construction of a seed store by the cooperative society of his headquarters village. The society had applied in March 1958 for a loan to construct a seed store. When loans of Rs. 8000/- by Central Government and Rs. 4000/- from Rajasthan Government were granted, the society and the village were hesitant about undertaking such a major project. Both Shanker Lal, the SEO and the Coop EO urged them to accept and told them what it would mean to the village. The Coop EO assigned one of his assistants to work with the villagers and at their request placed the gram sevak on the society's board of directors. Finally the villagers and the society agreed to undertake the building. At a meeting of the society's board, a committee including the VLW was appointed to supervise the construction. Responsibilities were divided among the members of this committee. The VLW's duties included getting labourers, supervising them, checking on work progress and verifying expenses. The block overseer helped with the plans of the building. Work had been completed just before the research team's visit.

Installing Hand Pumps

A second major activity of the previous year had been the installation of two hand pumps in his headquarters village. Sometime earlier the first such pump in the village had been installed by the block in the children's park. People liked this so much that soon they asked Shanker Lal to get two more for the village. Upon his advice they made a request to the panchayat that this be done. The panchayat learned from the BDO that they might get help from the block samiti and therefore it sent the request to this group. The block samiti agreed to meet half the cost of the pumps and after further discussion the panchayat sanctioned their installation and agreed to pay the second half of the cost. Subsequently Shanker Lal secured the technician and supervised the installation of the pumps.

Result Demonstration: "Yield for Better Than Last Year"

Shri Shanker Lal picked the demonstration involving two fertilizers as top dressing on wheat at the farm of Hira Lal as the best

of the three done in the previous Rabi season in his headquarters village because "the yield was far better–almost double compared with last year". There was no way, it was not a good demonstration to him, he felt it was perfect.

He had carried out nine demonstration that season. He fixed the number but the types were sent from the district agriculture officer through the agriculture EO.

The demonstrator was selected because he was well educated, had attended 5 or 6 village leaders' training camps, had good irrigated land, was a progressive farmer and a registered* demonstrator.

According to the VLW the purpose of the demonstration was to ascertain the difference between the effects of chemical fertilizers and the effects of compost. To Hira Lal however it was designed to show what good results would come from a combination of correct practices. Asked what the demonstration had shown, he replied "a crop is always good when good seeds, enough water, good cultivation and fertilizers are used".

Following instructions from the district agriculture office the demonstration was laid out in three plots, each 132 by 66 feet. These were located inside the farmer's field. The only approach to them was through some of his other crops. According to the VLW, the control plot only, had compost applied before sowing. All plots were then sown in lines. When the wheat was six or eight inches high, 14 pounds of ammonium-sulphate were applied to the second plot and seven pounds of this and seven pounds of ammonium-nitrate were given to the third plot. All plots received the same number of irrigations. The plots were cut and the yields kept separate. When they were weighed, the yield of the control plot was two maunds and 32 seers, that of the plot with 14 lbs. of ammonium-sulphate, three and a half maunds. While the return from the combined fertilizers plot was five maunds.

No pictures were made, but Shanker Lal said he and agriculture EO had records, and a write-up of the demonstration had been published in the *Rajasthan Times*. The gram sevak had visited the site eight or nine times, twice with the BDO, during the demonstration. At the time of the top dressing the VLW, the farmer and the agriculture EO were present. During cultivation and growth in addition to 30 to 40 farmers, the teacher and his students were said to have viewed the demonstration. The VLW

*Sometime earlier the agriculture department had suggested that in each headquaters village a progressive farmer be selected and for a small bee bade a "registered" demonstrator. This entitled him to receive special help in seed fertilizers etc.

and the farmer said around 70 people came at the time the yields of the plots were weighed but Hira Lal added there had been no attempt to give them a systematic explanation of the process. He had however spoken about the demonstration at two village leaders training camps, and the VLW had told other villagers about the difference in yields.

Muddled Purposes

Though the demonstrator had purchased some of the fertilizer for the current season and the gram sevak reported many others in the village had done the same thing, the effectiveness of the demonstration in changing practices is questioned in view of the confused mixture of contradictory purposes and the lack of evidence of understanding among the persons directly involved as well as among other villagers.

In spite of his visit, the teacher obviously was totally ignorant of the basic characteristics of the demonstration. Neither could one of Hira Lal's close field neighbour tell anything about the process. A third villager and the SEO both claimed to know the demonstration, yet they contended it was a seed demonstration. Hira Lal himself, claimed one of the fertilizers used was potassium-nitrate.

Somehow in the excitement of the measurement of the difference in yield the VLW forgot about the compost facet of the demonstration. Hira Lal thought only of the effort as a kind of multi-practice, maximum yield experiment and no one raised the question of why top-dressing. In fact the demonstrator had already taken the fertilizer at the current rabi season and sowed it with his seed as he had done before, for he remarked he had been using this fertilizer regularly for four or five years.

Sympathy for the Villagers

Nearly every one felt one of Shanker Lal's chief strengths as a VLW was his sympathy for the villagers. He himself announced with pride and sincerity that he had "brotherly relations" with at least 75 per cent of the people in his circle. His belonging to a Jat family was a help, for the Jats are close in rank and habits to his circle's majority group—the Ahirs. But his work also reflected his closeness to the people. Besides his routine work of attending meetings, report writing, handling block collections, he had worked that month obtaining payment for fruit plants, and distributing regular fertilizer. In addition he had helped to establish a poultry farm, repaired an approach road, bunded 2100 acres of land, encouraged

line sowing on 250 acres, and helped with school building construction. Further nearly all of the five major activities of the previous month and year seem to have emerged from popular needs which Shri Shanker Lal had perceived and sought to help satisfy. His good relations with villagers were known by all. Known as a good social mixer, he worked with all groups of farmers without discrimination. With panchayats, cooperatives and schools, he also had effect- under their direction.

Too Many Masters. . . . Not Enough Support

These contacts and capabilities indicate the work of Shanker Lal then held much promise. But other deficiencies intervened and he was neither satisfied with his situation nor as effective as one might expect. The major difficulties were his failures either to get the support needed from the block staff, or to communicate with his superiors.

His general contacts with them were routine. Though the BDO said he was "too blunt" others said he "got along" very well with the staff And he reported there existed between him and his superiors at least 75 per cent of that brotherly relation which was held as a model in the training centre. But there were in his work no examples of his bringing information to the block or raising problems of his work with his superiors. From the staff members on their part, little knowledge of and negligible contact with the gram sevak was shown. His work was not known and hence could receive little support. There was contact but primarily on the plane of formal meetings and the issuance of instructions. This led to feelings of pressures and frustration on the part of the VLW and he illustrated these with a story which he said, was "going around" with great appeal among VLWs.

Once a VLW was on his way to block headquarters to get stationery as ordered by BDO's office. Before getting there he met the BDO in his jeep. The BDO asked him not to go to the office now but to return to the village to gather the villagers in a meeting for the minister who was to pay a visit the next day. So the VLW started back to his village. But before reaching the village he met the agriculture EO who asked him at once to go and prepare the demonstrator farmer for a visit by the Director of Agriculture who was on his way to see some demonstrations. Before he could reach the demonstrator farmer, however, he met the panchayat EO. He demanded that he stop wasting his time and organize immediately a training camp in democratic decentralization for the panches. And

herdly had he left the panchayat EO when the cooperative officer accosted him and announced that before anything else, he must complete and submit his loan papers else they would lapse with the closing of the financial years. Turning to begin this work, he suddenly heard a sage praying to God "Oh Saviour of Dropadee, (who was wife of five husbands) save me too". Instantaneously, the VLW thinks, "Even God cannot save me, my masters are far more than five."

And since Panchayat Raj Mr. Shanker Lal felt the pull of new superiors. "Before the BDO ordered me about; now, the sarpanch tells me what to do", he said. These changes churned his old insecurities into new fears. He felt that now there were no organized channels for his appeal in case a sarpanch should take offence at some chance occurrence. "If I happen not to 'wish' him I may get sacked".

He had frequent spells of frustration in his work. These would seem not unrelated to his isolation from the supports of effective supervision. From this good village-contact-man a hint of bitterness is sounded in his remark, "Community Development is fine; it has a very bright future, but only if the people above work honestly and provide good leadership and support to VLWs".

CASE 14

DISILLUSIONED

SHRI Kailash Chandra was a short but stout and young Jat man, of 24 years of age. He was born and brought up in Jasware village which is about 16 miles from headquarters. He married a village girl and had two children of six and two years of age. Immediately after passing his matric he formed his family's ancestral land for one and a half years. After this period he became a VLW and received six months training for this job. He has been a VLW for six years and in his present circle for the last three years.

At the time of the study he lived with a friend in one of the village choupals. When marriages or other public functions occured, he was forced to vacate even this shelter for several days at a time. His circle is comprised of five villages with a total population of about 12,000 people. Ninety per cent of these people are Jat. Hersud, the headquarters village has a population of 4,500 people. The block headquarters and the nearest pucca road and post office are about a mile from Hersud. The main crops of his circle in order of importance are wheat, sugarcane, gram and cotton. Seventy to eighty per cent of the people in his circle depend upon agriculture. In terms of local social institutions there are nine cooperatives, eight schools, two dispensaries, two youth clubs, three mahila mandals, five community centres, and a few libraries in his circle.

Pt. Nehru's Birthday Celebration

Mr. Kailash reported his spending a great deal of time in the immediate past on the two aspects of plans to celebrate Prime Minister Nehru's birthday. Both the aspects of the celebration had been announced at the block's fortnightly meeting. According to the BDO one of the things to be done was to organize an agricultural fair in each VLW's circle. The VLWs were to inform the villagers and solicit their interest and participation in the fair. As a first step in this Mr. Kailash met the village sarpanch of his headquarters village, and informed him of the fair. He then got together three or four other members of the panchayat and talked over possible plans with them. In addition he discussed the matter with some five or six village leaders during the week.

The other part of the celebration was also announced at the fortnightly meeting. This had to do with celebrating the day in every village school and encouraging the children to contribute towards the Prime Minister's flood relief fund. The VLW first met the school teacher with whom he had shared quarters in the past. On the suggestions from him he discussed plans with the headmaster and other teachers of his headquarters village. Next morning at the time of the school prayer the whole programme was declared to the students and they were encouraged to make generous contribution towards the flood relief fund. None of the block staff had been of any particular assistance to the VLW in these efforts.

Street Paving

This activity was initiated when a group of villagers asked the VLW for help in getting one of the village streets paved. Thereupon he took the matter up with the panchayat and explored the possibilities of their undertaking the work. Because of lack of funds the panchayat could not undertake the job. The VLW suggested to the panchayat the block might help if it could get some work done through shramdan from the villagers. The panchayat agreed to his suggestion. The VLW approached the block and explained the situation. The block agreed to help. The VLW's next step was to take the block overseer to the village for technical guidance. Soon after, the work was started and the street was paved. Everybody cooperated well in the activity. The only difficulty experienced was getting the villagers to understand why certain technical requirements were necessary. In this difficulty he was helped by the block's social education officer.

Rabi Campaign

The campaign was initiated in the block's fortnightly meeting. His talk with the sarpanch of his headquarters village was the first contact Mr. Kailash made in connection with this programme. The sarpanch helped him arrange a village meeting in which the VLW explained the improvements villagers could undertake during the rabi season. He had no written plans for this campaign. What he did was to try a number of things appropriate to the season. The distribution of fertiliser was almost a constant part of his work. In nearly every block meeting VLWs were urged to distribute a certain quantity of fertilizers. He was given a target of 40 maunds for the rabi season. To achieve that he contacted those farmers individually in his circle already using fertilizer and persuaded them to use more and more of it. With regards to distribution of improved seeds, he also had a target fixed by the block. Here also, he approached first

the "A" class farmers and then other farmers of his circle. The VLW reported making satisfactory progress in both the activities.

The block staff was also involved in this work of the VLW. The block development officer had arranged for the supply of fertilizer and seeds. The agricultural extension officer met Mr. Kailash three or four times and gave him guidance. Seed was distributed through the cooperatives with the help of the cooperative extension officer.

Small Savings

Mr. Kailash reported to have spent a good deal of time on this activity during the immediate past. This formed a continuous part of the VLW's work. Each VLW in the block was assigned a fixed target for this. For this work he concentrated only on persons he knew, could contribute and make investments in savings. He would appeal to such persons and say "it would help me out if you would contribute". On getting any encouraging response he would approach his BDO and suggest the contact the man and put some more pressure to get larger contribution from him. The BDO himself reported his working closely with Mr. Kailash on small savings work.

Other Activities

Of the many other activities which he carried out during the year he made special mention of organising one women's club and one youth club.

In September or October 1958, the lady social education officer announced that she had resources in her budget to start women's sewing centres in some villages and any interested VLW could take advantage of them. The VLW discussed the matter with the panchayat which agreed to provide a house and a part of the pay of the instructor to run the club. Kailash then contacted the heads of different families and secured from them a list of the women in their families who would like to participate in the centre. He gave this list to the lady SEO. She talked to the village women and after ascertaining their interest, decided to start a club in the village. About 30 women were a part of the group.

The organisation of the youth club followed the urging of the male social education officer. Mr. Kailash knew of some village school boys' attempt to organize a recreation club. He approached them and explained how a recreation might be combined with education in useful activities by organizing a village youth club. The boys showed much interest in his suggestion. He next approached the school teacher and sought his consent to supervise the group.

The teacher agreed to help. Thus the Young Farmers' Club was started.

Training of functional leaders also had received his attention. He had helped organize a three day's training camp for them. Ten farmers from his circle received training in this camp.

RESULT DEMONSTRATION: Improved Wheat Seed

Mr. Kailash's best result demonstration the previous rabi season. This was about improved wheat seed "No. 281." It was carried out on the farm of Mr. Nazepur, a Bar-at-Law, who had retired and begun farming three years earlier.

Sometime during the summer of 1958 in one of the fortnightly meetings the VLW conceived the idea that a model farm plan might be developed for Nazepur's farm. The demonstration in question became one of the steps towards this over-all purpose. Both the VLW and the agriculture E.O. discussed the proposal with the farmer and he agreed readily. After this the farmer gave the VLW some money to purchase the improved seed.

In the first week of November the demonstration plot was sowed with the improved seeds. At the time of sowing only the VLW and the farmer's servants were present. The VLW and the servants were the only persons present at the time of irrigating and applying fertilizer on the plot. Sometime towards the end of the demonstration the servants became concerned over the heaviness of the crop. They asked VLW, but he told them not to worry about it.

At the time of harvesting the VLW, the agriculture EO, the demonstrator farmer his servants and three or four other farmers were present. According to the agriculture EO the yield from the demonstration plot was 37 maunds per acre. This contrasted favourably with 28 maunds per acre the year before. He put the cost of seed as 16 rupees per acre and thus estimated a net income of 130 Rs. per acre for the farmer.

The strength of the demonstration consisted in the fact that the technical supervision given to it was adequate and the difference in yields were dramatic. However it failed completely in its impact on other farmers. No attempt was made to get people to observe the demonstration. The demonstration was mostly carried out by the servants of the demonstrator farmer. No effort was made to select a demonstrator who could best influence the average farmer.

Works with All Villagers

Several characteristics of Mr. Kailash's ways of working may be indentified. First, his efforts seem to be spread widely among all the different groups in the village. He works with individuals, with key leaders, and with local institutions such as the panchayat and the school. He showed his ability to work with special groups such as women and the young farmers. In many activities he revealed some ability to work in cooperation with the block staff. They cooperated with him in the rabi campaign, in organizing women and youth clubs, and in other ways. He was methodical in the execution of his work. He moved from one person to another in a logical sequence. To take his ideas to the villagers, he made use of informal talks, home and farm visits, and village meetings.

Representatives of both the block and the village, seem to have a favourable immage of Mr. Kailash Chandra. And the VLW reported, "I have been ranked by the block as its best VLW." He added, "Three-fourths of the villagers will be ready to stand in the sun all day on my mere asking for it."

In spite of this the VLW's morale was not good. To the contrary, it was rather low. At points he was almost bitter about his situation and his work. He indicated that he was not satisfied with his pay even though he received more than most people with his education. He was most dissatisfied about his conditions of living. He admitted that while there were certain advantages in living in the village, the lack of educational facilities and of hospital care were major disadvantages. "I have to set up two households," he emphasised, "if I want to educate my children." He was irked by not having a place to live. He said he had no quarters, that he lived here and there, most of the time in a village choupal. But, he said, this was no place to live. "Every time there is a marriage, the people ask me to move out so that the marriage party can have the choupal." He added bitterly, "the Government expects me to change the whole village like magic and to live like a model person, but I live like a dog."

Aside from these personal matters which bore down upon his morale, there were three other elements that seemed to weigh upon him heavily. He spoke with emphasis about the frequency of transfers of VLWs. He said, "VLWs are not clerks who can just pick up their papers and move. A VLW must establish friendships if he is to work satisfactorily and this takes time." He knew of a number of transfers where VLWs were sent into regions with different crops and different dialects from those they knew. "Then authorities will

ask them, 'why can't you make your targets.' A VLW can't work effectively under such conditions."

A second element was the indefiniteness of his role. His attitude here was revealed when he was asked how his wife felt about his work as a VLW. He said, "My wife thinks it is bogus—no good. She does not feel it's working at all. She says you never know what you are going to be working at, where you are going to be, tomorrow or next year, or where you will eat. I know my job is to help people become prosperous but I don't know exactly what this means. The BDO only cares for spending the money."

To illustrate this indefiniteness, the VLW told of a court case which developed several years ago around the actions of a VLW friend of his. The friend had laid out several areas where compost pits were to be dug. One of the farmers challenged his right to dig a pit at one location which the farmer contended was on his land. In the presence of the BDO and other staff members of the block, this farmer had slapped the VLW. None of the block staff came to the rescue of the VLW. The VLW decided that, if he wished to remain effective in that circle, he would have to do something, so he instituted a court suit against the farmer. The decision of the court was that since the VLW's work did not include digging compost pits, he had no ground for damages. The VLW said this case could be found in the district court records.

Finally, related to his low morale, was his feeling of futility about the community development programme. When asked what he thought about the future of the programme, he responded quickly that he did not think it had any future. He added, "None of the schemes being carried on are planned with the needs of the villagers in view. Schemes are laid out by higher-ups who do not know the needs of particular villages." An example of this he said, was the problem of sanitation. He said a part of this problem involved placing compost heaps somewhere away from the village. He claimed, "Now every-one in India from Prime Minister Nehru on down to the villager wants to be clean and therefore, everyone would welcome putting compost pits on the edge of the village if they could." But he added, "There is seldom any land on the edge of villages for such purposes." He contended that instead of working to do something about this crucial aspects of the problem, the programme had merely continued sending compost inspectors over and over to urge the villagers to put their pits on the village outskirts.

Here then was an effective VLW—one with the confidence of the people—but one with poor morale and much confusion about his role and how to fulfil it.

CASE 15

TO SERVE AND NOT WASTE A MINUTE

MR. Jagdish was serving the same circle to which he had first come as a VLW nearly two years before. In fact this was practically his first employment. He had worked only as a clerk for one or two months before his 18 months of training for the position in community development. Now 27, slender, medium in height, Mr. Jagdish was born and reared in a village, where his brahmin father, a farmer, still owns 150 bighas of land. He had schooling upto Intermediate level. He is married and the father of one child, but his family does not live with him in the headquarters village of Dharmsala.

The 17 villages in his circle are from 3 to 7 miles from Dharamsala. This headquarters village of 650 people is on a pucca road two miles from a post office, eight from the block office, and 14 from district headquarters. The population of these villages, ranges from 416 to 1025. Rajputs from the predominant group and agriculture the main occupation of pepole in his circle. The major crops are paddy, maize, wheat and gram.

In the 17 villages there are nine panchayats, eight cooperatives, four primary schools, two youth clubs, two sports and recreation clubs and one library. There are no high schools, hospitals, dispensaries, health or maternity centres, and no mahila mandals, community centres or community listening sets in his circle.

Mr. Jagdish described the three activities engaging most of his time during the past month and two others which he thought were important activities in his programme in the past year. The first three were: helping farmers to get fertilizers, getting compost pits constructed, and organizing sports participation at the block-mela (fair). Revitalizing a cooperative and organizing adult literacy classes were the projects of the past year. Pushing the rabi campaign also took much of his time.

Fertilizer

Institutions and targets for distribution of fertilizer were issued to each VLW in the block staff meeting. Mr. Jagdish was not present in the meeting, but within a few days, the BDO, SEO and agriculture

ADO each brought word to him that he should take up this particular work. He was given a target: to sell ammonium sulphate worth about 400 rupees. As the end of financial year was near the block staff was anxious to avoid any lapses under this budgetary head.

The first contact which Jagdish made in this connection was with a programme villager leader of Dharamsala. The panchayat president was the next man with whom the VLW discussed the fertilizer programme with his help. Mr. Jagdish organized a village meeting in which farmers were encouraged to use more fertilizer. He explained to them to the facilities the Government was willing to offer anybody who wished to purchase and use the fertilizer. As a result, fertilizer of the value of about 200 rupees was sold in the headquarters village.

Next Jagdish went to a village near his headquarters and talked with the Pradhan, the village baniya and other village leaders. Fertilizer of the value of about Rs. 100 was sold in this village. After this he visited other villages and sold additional amounts of fertilizer.

In order to effect the sale of fertilizer the VLW filled in forms, took them to block headquarters, secured block approval and the required permit, and then delivered them to the farmers. He also informed the cooperative stores about the issued permits so they would be ready to serve the farmers. When, because of some administrative tie-up, some of the farmers had trouble getting the fertilizer at the store, Jagdish informed the ADO agriculture and he straightened out the difficulties.

Pucca Compost Pits

This also was an activity made important that month by the imminant end of the fiscal year. The block had undertaken to subsidize certain number of pucca compost pits during the year. All the extension officers urged all VLWs to work hard on this so that the current allotment might be used fully.

Jagdish called one meeting where he urged pepole to build compost pits. He then went to each panchayat member with the same appeal. His primary effort was directed toward some 12 farmers of relatively high economic position in his headquarters village. He had to work mainly with people of this level because he said pucca pit construction involved an immediate expenditure of money and these were the only people who could afford such projects.

After these 12 had agreed to build the pits, Jagdish started work on administrative procedures required to secure the subsidies. He filled out the applications, had them signed by the panchayat presi-

dent sent them through the agriculture ADO, and then to the agricultural production sub-committee of the Block Development Council. The council finally cleared the grants.

Even after agreeing, none of the twelve farmers wanted to be the first to start construction. Jagdish, therefore, helped the farmer in whose house he lived to build the first pit. While this one was being completed, two or three others were started. At end of the month eight pits had been completed and four others were under way. Except for the time taken to persuade the farmers to build the pits Jagdish said there had been no particular difficulty in the work. The agriculture ADO had helped secure cement needed by one of the farmers. Jagdish planned to continue his efforts next month and hoped by then to "saturate" his headquarters village with the pits.

Sports at the Block Mela

At the previous staff meeting the social education officer announced that each VLW should have either a sports team or a cultural exhibit at the coming agricultural fair. Jagdish decided on the sports programme and held a meeting with the youth club in his headquarters village. He explained the plan to them and selected certain members to form a kabbadee team. In addition, he got a few good players from some of the other villages to participate. He organized practice sessions and played with the team for four or five days. During the fair which lasted three days, he came with them each morning and returned with them in the afternoon. This team won first place in "Kabbadee" competition.

Revitalizing a Coop

This society had been organized six or seven years before in a village three miles from his headquarters. At first it had flourished. A number of loans were made, but no one had repaid their loans and no one visited the society or looked into its condition. Jagdish learned about it when he happened to hear some of the officers discussing the possibility of dissolving the organization entirely. They did not think anyone was interested.

The Gram Sevak tried to reassure them. He told them he was interested and talked with the villagers and promised he would help. Then he persuaded some of the people to repay their loans. About Rs. 1000 were collected. He succeeded also in getting five new members to join the society.

Finally, he and one of the society's members went personally to the cooperative department, told them about the society and asked that interest be shown in its operations. Since then someone had visited the society regularly.

Though he received help from higher level officers in the cooperative department, Jagdish did not at any time in this work contact the block ADO cooperation.

Adult Literacy Class

Each VLW had a target of organizing at least one adult literacy class. The SEO suggested that a survey of need be made as a basis for planning. Jagdish first asked the teacher to give him a list of people who might be interested in such a class. The gram sevak then talked with a number of adults on the list and found many were interested.

He then took the matter before the panchayat which was requested to pay one-third the teacher's salary. The panchayat, and after the block sanctioned the funds, the class was started.

During its operation the SEO had been unable to visit the class. The ADO compost had paid several visits and had helped secure books and a lamp for the group. The class ran smoothly for about three months. Then in spite of the VLW's best efforts some of the participants dropped out, because of the teacher's involvement in politics. Jagdish succeeded in keeping the class going another month or two. Then it was disbanded.

Other Work

Jagdish had worked on the block's rabi campaign. He had attended the training camp for VLWs and panchayat secretaries and had tried to carry out work on all ten items of the campaign. The item on which he had made the most progress was line sowing, but because the weather had forced a quick sowing of the crops that year, he said he had been able to get only 363 acres sowed in lines compared to the 560 acres he had obtained the previous year.

He had also worked on family agriculture production plans. This had been his "biggest headache" Jagdish reported. He had completed proformas for about 65 per cent. of his cultivators. Because this required a report of acreages of each crop planted the year before and anticipated for the next year and because farmers feared such acreage reports might lead to higher taxes, this work was particularly difficult.

Jagdish had also attended most of the meetings of his headquarters village panchayat and the regular monthly block staff meetings. The latter he said, always lasted two and sometimes three days.

RESULT DEMONSTRATION: Superphosphate and Top Dressing

During the previous rabi season Jagdish had had a target of 14 result demonstrations. He had actually carried out eight. About half of these had been placed in his headquarters village of Dharamsala. Of these, his best was on the land of Shri Thimaya and involved the application of two fertilizers to wheat. It was best because, Jagdish said Thimaya "had used compost manure" in addition to the two fertilizers on the experimental plot and "this had given him a very good field."

According to the gram sevak the purpose of the demonstration was "to see how good the yield would be when superphosphate was applied before sowing and ammonium-sulphate-nitrate later." At a block meeting VLWs had been instructed to demonstrate these two fertilizers. Thimaya was chosen as the demonstrator because the VLW said, he was a big land owner, and a man with relatives in a progressive block and therefore, some understanding of the work. Besides he was someone with whom Jagdish had influence.

Thimaya purchased the two fertilizers. Two plots each two bighas in size and equal in characteristics, were laid out on one of Thimaya's fields at some distance from the village. No fertilizer was applied to one of the plots. On the other superphosphate was applied at sowing and ammonium-sulphate-nitrate when the wheat was six to eight inches high.

Jagdish helped start the sowing, but left before it was completed. He visited the site two or three other times. At one of these visits he took eight or ten pepole with him and talked to them about the demonstration. Just prior to harvest a severe hail storm destroyed the corps before the hail storm considerable difference between the two plots was observed and Jagdish felt for this reason that the demonstration exerted some influence.

After the hail storm the gram sevak had talked with five or six people about the demonstration. He felt the use of ammonium-sulphate-nitrate had increased some. A few of Thimaya's neighbours were using it. Thimaya, himself was using it for top dressing on about a half his wheat crop, but this much had been left over from the previous year's purchase. No one however, was using expamphosphate.

This year Thimaya was putting on another demonstration with some of the same fertilizer free for demonstration purposes and called "mixture No. 1."

"As far as I am concerned, it was Perfect." This was Jagdish's comment when asked if he knew of any way the demonstration could have been improved. And it did represent a genuine attempt on the part of the VLW to influence agricultural practices along the lines specified in block instructions. Utilizing two plots of equal size and controlling most factors except fertilizer, it was clear before the hail storm that the plot with the fertilizer had the healthiest and fullest growth. What the results might have been if the crop had come to harvest cannot be known. Yet certain defects in conception and execution make it doubtful that it would have been effective in changing villager's agricultural practices.

Since this was the first time demonstrations had been carried out in this village the appropriateness of one involving two fertilizers may be questioned. In addition more attention was needed on the technical aspects of the demonstration. If the purpose was to show the greater yield to be obtained from the use in a particular sequance of two chemical fertilizers, the introduction of compost manure could only confuse the results. Yet it was this particular feature the VLW cited as his reason for regarding the demonstration as his best.

The chief weaknesses of the demonstration however, are twofold: the lack of supervision of the VLW and the failure to do effective educational work in the process.

No real guidance was given to Jagdish in this activity. None of the three members of the staff who were in the block at the time (one of whom was the agriculture ADO) could recall anything about the demonstration. Yet this was a demonstration in the first series done in the block and carried out in the headquarters village of one of their best VLWs. The agriculture ADO further stated that VLWs were simply given the type demonstrations and the numbers to do. No other guidance was provided.

Little thought seems to have been given to ways of using the demonstration to educate the villagers about the advantages of these fertilizers. True, Jagdish had talked with six or eight people at one of his visits to the plots and with five or six after the demonstration, but the talks were quite casual. Certainly there was little indication from any of the villagers that real learning had taken place. Several close friends were ignorant of the demonstration and even

Thimaya's son could not remember it.* Its location far from a road and away from the village made it unlikely others would see or hear of it.

Finally, there was no follow-up of the demonstration no attempt was made to find out what the farmer had really learned and what others thought and then to build further efforts on this information. No one had tried to find out why some farmers were using ammonium-sulphate-nitrate but no one was using superphosphate. Yet, without this sensing of the situation, plans had already been made for the same demonstrator to execute another demonstration with basically the same fertilizers. Only this time, instead of buying the fertilizer, Thimaya would have the mixture furnished free by the Government.

Hard Work.... for the Select

Jagdish does two types of interrelated jobs—directly serves the villagers and carries out instructions from his superiors. Most of the time he was trying to "persuade" people to execute orders or rendering service by bringing supplies or completing forms. The effort to do both of these conscientiously led to Jagdish working very hard. He sought manfully to effect the programmes announced; he talked with the people, followed up the talks with further contacts, went with farmers to get their supplies or to talk with officials filled out their application forms, carried them to the block headquarters, checked with the store ahead of time.

But his efforts were nearly always made within a very narrow range of people. He saw pradhans, village leaders, "good" farmers, well-to-do villagers, but seldom many villagers or just "ordinary" farmers. Of the six people questioned about his work all but one noted that he worked mainly with influential or progressive people. This may have been necessary. One member of the block staff explained that since VLWs had to fulfil definite targets within short time periods, they had to work mainly with advanced people. "To the extent they can", he added, "they work with ordinary farmers."

Jagdish also seemed to depend primarily upon individual contacts and only incidentally upon group contacts. He attended panchayat and some other meetings but he called few himself. Such gatherings were not integral parts of his methods.

In sum, Jagdish seeks diligently to carry out the targets and instructions he receives, but because of the need to "perform" quickly, he works mainly with progressive and well-to-do farmers in one or

---

*Thimaya was away from the village at the time of the field investigation.

two villages. Within this circle he brings as many benefits as he can, seeks to get people to do what the programme calls for, and is somewhat successful.

Highest Regard for My Officers

Jagdish contended he had fine relationships with the block staff. One of his ambitions in his work he said, had been to "carry the highest regard for my officers." But he seemed to try too hard. And one of the block staff confirmed this. Jagdish was simply too aggressive in trying to please his superiors and in always making sure they knew he was doing well and working hard. His relationships with them remained formal.

He was just overly earnest. With the villagers he had reasonably satisfactory contacts with a few but he failed to elicit wide and unwilling acceptance from the majority.

Colleagues and villagers had some idea of Jagdish the man and of his achievements as a VLW. Both farmers and block officers noted his success in getting improved agriculture practices adopted, particularly line sowing and Japanese method of paddy cultivation. He was known for his hard work, his interest in and liking for his job. Jagdish himself, was proud of organising "the best functional leaders' camp" in the block.

Thus some basic satisfactions came to him from his work, but these seemed easily shaken. Basically oriented to a constant effort to satisfy his superiors he was very pleased when he could fulfil the demands upon him. "My ambition is to fulfil all duties to the maximum extent possible, to serve the people and not waste a minute," he emphasized. But he was extremely unhappy—when, for whatever reason, he could not reach his goal. He drove himself to get things done whether they had meaning for him or not. He had no time to read anything connected with his work.

Though his wife wanted the family together and though both an earlier and the current BDO had urged him to bring his wife to live with him, he had not done so. He explained, "If I bring her here, I cannot work as hard as I do today." Reaching a goal was the important thing to him. The need for it or the dynamics of its attainment concerned him little. Not to fulfil a target then was a great frustration. He summed up his attitude in these words, "I pursue a thing to the end, Don't stop; I always fulfil promises and I don't waste time. But when I don't succeed, I get frustrated and become hopeless in all work."

Emerging Trends and Patterns

SUMMARY FINDINGS

TO develop general impressions from a series of cases, each somewhat unique, is difficult and hazardous. Yet, some effort to see the 'forest' and not merely the "trees" is needed. An indication here of major trends and patterns within the 15 cases is designed to serve this purpose. It may also provide hypothesis approach to any selected activity. A few alternatives from among

This brief discussion is divided into two parts. In the first the chief patterns of work to be found among the 15 VLWs are elucidated, while in the second, the major characteristics of the 14 result demonstrations are specified. A few suggestions about how the studies may be used completes the chapter.

A VLW TYPES

The following analysis of the work of the 15 VLWs assumes that the VLW must carry out two functions. He must help the villager identify and meet his needs, and he must implement the plans of the state and nation defined and made operational in the targets and administrative requirements of his block. Thus, the key role of the VLW is to link or mesh village situation and block policy. The major patterns of work of the gramsevaks here briefly described can thus be organised around the degree to which they carry out this essential role.

Three patterns are observable: those who accept and carry out the task reasonably well-the "role players", those who fail to comprehend or who reject the task-the "role rejectors", and those who comprehend it in part and are groping for ways to fulfil it—the "role seekers". Each case has been classed in one of these three categories. Individual cases differ in the degree to which they embody the cluster of qualities defining the type. In classifying these 15 cases of VLW into the above three groups it was noticed that the role of the block as an influencing factor for the VLWs position into any of these groups was negligible. In other words, the blocks did not function as an agency to help the VLWs in achieving their expected role. The blocks activities were limited to provide minimum essential administration through its staff meetings to pass on orders about work and one or two visits to different circles

of VLW to check the execution of instructions. As a m
fact none of the block staff in any case indicated clea
realisation of the fact that one of their essential duty tow
VLW is to provide guidance to them to fulfil their expect
The result is that the VLW is left to his own situation and
to reach his role.

Similarly, it was observed that the factors of caste, clas
ground, age and marital status did not influence the class
in any case in a decisive way. These variables were more
present and absent in different degrees in the VLWs of all the three groups. However, nothing decisively can be said about these variables unless further research focussing on these variables is undertaken.

Still another interesting fact which needs further probe from the administrators of the programme relates with the need of providing minimum physical facilities to VLWs. The case descriptions indicate enough room to improve the level of such facilities from the level at which they are provided today. In spite of their differences in relation to their role performance one thing over which there was high degree of consensus was lack of such facilities. No wonder quite a few of them were living alone in the villages away from their families for greater part of the year. The neutral or non-supporting attitudes of their wives towards the VLW job, the moral of the workers and dissatisfaction from the work seem to be related to this factor.

The decision about the class of a particular case was determined by the author's judgment as to which type its cluster of qualities fitted best. Characterizations of each of these three patterns will serve to organize the more important impressions of this phase of the research and may suggest ways of improving the work of all VLWs.

The role players.

The first five cases describe VLWs who are playing the expected role of linking the block and village in a reasonably effective way. Two of these five, cases I and 5, exhibit the role in more maturity than the others and have more or less similar standards of achievement, feeling towards the programme, and background experiences. These VLWs endeavour to match the resources and expectations of the block programme with the needs and expectations of the villagers. The block and the people showed tendency to look to

as reliable and effective tools for achieving their respective

at the VLWs in these five cases are relatively making more extension methods, adjusting block demand and villager's tations to the extent possible within their situation, commu- ng to a fair degree between the two and within limitations

TO ding in some degree to plan and order their activities is reflect- sc such statements as these.

effort to

By a Member of the block staff: "He brings in proposals and discusses with us." By another staff member: "He sometimes takes time before accepting our orders."

By a VLW: "I do not commit myself to the villagers unless I am sure the block can fulfil my promise." "I inform the villagers and then allow enough time for them to discuss and decide." "I inform the villagers about my future visit and its purpose at least one night in advance, but also suggest that they formulate and present their difficulties in any field regardless of the particuiar purpose."

By a villager: "He frequently meets, discusses, and hears all of us."

These workers are marked by their understanding of the block programme and their faith in it. Typical comments were:

> "The programme is basically good but it needs to be more and more planned from below." "The programme will succeed and it has succeeded till now but I am doubtful of the sincerity and honesty of some of us." "There is nothing wrong with the basic goals and purposes of the programme. They are sound. The future of the programme is bright."

This faith and understanding has been reinforced by their experiences and achievements in their actual day to day work. One said, "I could do what many others could not do." A block staff member emphasized, "We have acknowledged him as our best VLW." and a villager announced about another, "Of all the VLWs the village has had experience with, he is our best."

These VLWs perform a delicate job when they devetail block goals and village needs. Between failure to do what is wanted by the villagers and failure to achieve the goals of the block they walk a "tight rope". They take calculated and purposive risks within

the permisible but undefined limits of both the block and the village systems. Such limits are not uniformly fixed; they become broader or narrower in direct relationship to the VLW's acceptance by the villagers and block officials and to his ability to perform. The members of this group in different degree possess the understanding necessary to soft paddle on occasion either the block or the village or at another time to indicate their preference with either, upon controversial issues. They also accept the direction and the initiative of others. That some of their activities are initiated by the block, some by the villagers, and some by themselves is indicative of their general flexibility. But whatever the source or origin of a particular activity, before taking any important steps, they endeavour to involve other parties and secure their cooperation.

Generally smart in appearance, active enthusiastic and bold, in varying degrees these VLWs have less difficulty interpreting their actions to others. While some are local, all have a fair understanding of the area, its people, their customs and values. They have been farmers and still have farming interests in the family. They know local farming practices and situations first hand. All except one who is above 40, are between the age of 20 to 28 years of age. All of them belong to the majority caste group or to a caste accepted by the majority in their villages.

In relationships with others "role players" tend to be stimulating social mixers. They have cordial relationships with the block, with the villagers, and with outside official or non-officials whoever matters to their work. "He is an excellent social mixer", said a block staff member of one of these, and a villager remarked of another: "He approaches freely all of us, even our village women."

The members of this group tend to have good moral. "There is nothing in my work which I dislike", one said. Such morale is good for all concerned. He himself is satisfied with his work-world, the block's achievements are favourably influenced and the villagers interests get attention.

But they had their frustrations also. These remarks were typical: "The pay, working conditions and physical facilities fail to reward the hard work we put in." "There are no future prospects for a good VLW in this programme." "I have no decent place to live." "The area is too big to work systematically." "I cannot pay any attention to my family and family affairs." In spite of their

good morale, work satisfaction, and faith in the programme, they were dissatisfied with their living facilities and prospects for the future.

Role Rejectors

At the other extreme of the cases are those VLWs who have either rejected the role, are close to this, or do not comperehend its essence. Three of the fifteen fall into this category: cases six seven and eight.

Case number six straightaway said, "This is not a job for me. I can't bear any more the dual standards and hypocrisy of the block staff who talk of a family team and service to the people while, all the time, act and behave in just the opposite way. I am going to resign as soon as I complete my time-bond." Block officers reported he had used the threat of resigning on more than one occasion as a shield against their urging him to greater effort. The VLW of case eight was clearly moving toward the rejection of his role. He was somewhat confused and seemed to be losing his grip on the situation. Resignation had also been threatened by the worker of case seven.

These "rejectors" tend to be irresponsible and careless, working at randum on any thing with very little of thinking and very often according to their personal conveniences. One did not attend block meetings regularly and avoided seeing members of the staff on tour in his circle. Often he left his circle for his home without leave or permission. Another was reported by the block staff to be neglectful of office directives and uncooperative in his behaviour with them.

All the three of these VLWs were in 20 to 30 age-group. None belonged to scheduled caste. Only one of them was local. All belonged either to the majority caste or to a caste acceptable to the majority group in the area. Only one of the three was a farmer. The other two had mixed city and village experience and exhibited marked urban influences in dress and talk.

These VLWs had very little faith in the programme. Asked about its future, they described it as "dark" or having "no hope". Their level of performance was low. Asked what if any, important things they had done block officials generally replied in negative terms. On the same question, these VLWs themselves were unenthusiastic. If pressed they mentioned some items like social education or cleanliness or short term physical achievements like a particular well or road repairing.

With the block officials their relations were not helpful. With villagers their contacts were restricted, and ineffective. One block officer said of one of these, "He has no effective contacts with the villagers or with the block staff." And the VLWs tended to have little sympathy or confidence in the villagers' abilities. One VLW said, "The villagers are selfish, illiterate and uncooperative with no hope."

Frustrated and with low moral they were often guided by their own peculiar belief and understanding about the programme. Sometime they become revengeful. Thus, they were not merely a loss but a detriment to the programme.

Role Seekers

The other seven VLWs have some grasp of their work, some success with it, but in one or more ways, still are unable to fulfil reasonably well their responsibilities. Their patterns of work seem to fall into either one of two broad sub-types.

First are those who seem to have adopted a relatively complete identification with the block. Three of the seven (Cases nine, ten and eleven) reveal this pattern in varying degrees. These VLWs accept and try to fulfil completely whatever instructions the block issues. They make little pretence of critical thinking in relation to any instruction or action desired of them by their superiors. "I do whatever I am told." "Whatever the superior officers think and say, must be, and is, the only just and right thing for me to do." Plainly these VLWs feel that tempering orders in terms of practical situations is beyond the realm of their consideration. They tend to force the programmes from the top and fail to communicate difficulties upward to their superiors.

The remaining four VLWs (Cases 12, 13, 14 and 15) utilize a second pattern. This calls for hard work as a means of insuring the block's approval and a definite effort to help the villager and win his good will, but it tends to be related to a benevolent or pseudo-missionary view of village conditions and an unrealistic enthusiasm of the block programme. These VLWs like to appear as benefactors to the villagers. Apparent, good relationships with villagers and somewhat seemingly "busyness" in trying to "Help" wins them security with their superiors.

Jagdish (Case 15) is an extreme example of this tendency. Reported by all as a man of good contacts he stated that though both the current and the past BDO of the block had urged him to do so,

he had never brought his wife to live at his headquarters. She might deter him from his work.

As a whole, the "seekers" manifest combinations of attitudes and behaviours characteristic of persons with uncrystalized morals and undefined positions. Personally they are hesitant and sometimes fearful. Though most had considerable experience they lack ability to interpret and verbalise their work. Two of the seven belong to scheduled castes, while the remaining five either belong to the majority caste or to castes acceptable to the majority. All have village backgrounds and five came from land-owing families. Some were from the local district, but others were from outside the area.

As a rule the "seekers" have "pockets" of good relationships in both the village and the block organization. Their understanding of the programme is incomplete. They are neither sold on it nor lost to it. They enjoy some of their activities while they dislike others. Their work is generally target or short-term oriented, though they can at least verbalise some long term ends. They use extension methods, but in an incomplete and superficial way. Their efforts tend to be directed toward isolated pieces of work. Typically they work on activities not on programme. Sometimes they show vision and satisfaction while at other times they are unimaginative and frustrated. Their superiors have mixed feelings about them. Though their achievements are sometimes real, they tend to be routine and their long run contribution is uncertain. They are vague about their own future. They do not visualise their prospects in concrete terms.

B. RESULT DEMONSTRATIONS

The agriculture programme is of crucial importance in community development blocks. To get farmers to accept improved and recommended practices is one of the important goals of the effort. The result demonstration is a proven educational tool to introduce such changes in farming. Thus its use by VLWs is a particularly significant part of their work. This prompted the analysis in some detail of the best agriculture demonstration of such VLW in the study.

However, the result demonstration analysis that follows should be viewed against the total work expectations that a V.L.W. is supposed to fulfil. As the things stand today result demonstration constitutes a small fraction of his total work lead. He is required to do so many other tasks and perhaps equally important, in fields

other than agriculture. Although implications of such a situation on the result demonstration work of a V.L.W. is very difficult to assess, it is felt essential to sensatize the reader with this fact so that he looks to the result demonstration analysis presented here in a broad and more balanced perspective.

Since the success of such demonstrations is measured by the acceptance of the practices demonstrated, wherever possible, demonstrations at least one year old were selected for study so that some measure of their educational effect could be taken. Use of the practice by the demonstrator farmer in the next corresponding agriculture season and a good knowledge of the demonstration by some key persons of the village were considered the minimal criteria for basic effectiveness of such demonstrations. Besides the educational aspects, technical and other resources, supply and administrative supervision and coordination were also observed in each demonstration

In this chapter the 14 demonstrations (one for each VLW except in case 11) are analyzed in terms of some 13 variables conceived to be important steps of any demonstration. In regard to each variable the characteristics of the various demonstrations are briefly summarized. Then the qualities found most often in the demonstrations are used to construct a model of the 14 observed result demonstration processes.

Sizing up Need and Past Experience

Both the costliness of this extension method and the need to relate it to people's experience suggest the importance of carefully considering the need for the demonstration and any past experience with comparable work. Of the 14 cases no one took any steps to explore the need for the demonstration. In at least three cases there is positive evidence that between 10 and 30 per cent of the farmers in the area were already using the practice involved before the demonstration. Exploiting a good example if available from among these "users" might have rendered the demonstration superfluous. However this should not be interpreted to mean that in such circumstances demonstrations are always superfluous.

Simiarly very little effort was made by anyone of the 14 VLWs to link the demonstration with their own past experience, most had previously executed similar demonstrations. Their lack of reference to them indicates the repetitive nature of the work. They perceive demonstration as service activities—isolated units with sharp beginnings and endings—not as educational experiences having continuity—a past and future.

Technical Guidance

Every demonstration requires technical knowledge and its sound application. There is evidence that 13 of the 14 VLWs received and made use of some technical information. But information was generally limited to the specification of a control-plot, its sizes, and the quantity or "dose" of fertilizer. Further such information was all given at one time, and only one VLW sought further technical help at any time in the demonstration process. When it was needed, the VLW either failed to notice it or met the situation in an uninformed way that ultimately destroyed the base of the demonstration. Instead of asking the Agriculture Extension Officer the gram sevak in one case applied fertilizer in doses and at a time of his own judgment. In another he failed to recognise the need for help in controlling rats which eventually destroyed his control plot. Yet he still labelled this his best Result Demonstration.

Perhaps because the minimum technical information was passed on at one time in the form of instructions, the VLW accepted it routinely, sought to implement it and failed to sense the need of replenishing it when new needs developed.

Purpose

Having a clearly defined purpose, understood and accepted by all principal parties is of obvious importance to a demonstration's success. Twelve of the 14 VLWs stated some purpose for their demonstrations, but this usually tended to be somewhat vague. With the exception of three or four each demonstration involved more than one practice. U.P. method of wheat cultivation, Japanese method of paddy cultivation, and the maximum potential demonstration* are examples. The complex nature of these, combined with lack of planning and coordination between the farmer, the VLW, block-specialist, BDO, and technical staff at the district level, often resulted in confusion of purposes among the parties concerned. The farmer, the VLW, the specialist, and the BDO frequently held different purposes for the same demonstration. These paraphrased examples found in the cases illustrate the situation.

A BDO: "Demonstrations are not planned on any local agriculture problem. To us they mean following certain

*We were told that these demonstrations were to demonstrate the maximum yield a farmer can get if he just does all, in the way required, and at the right time with respect to his crop.

instructions according to specifications given to us by the agriculture department."

A VLW: "The purpose of the demonstration was to increase the yield of the farmer." "The purpose was to prove that chemical fertilizer is good."

A FARMER: "I allowed the VLW to do the demonstration because he requested me."

ANOTHER DEMONSTRATOR FARMER: "Whatever instruction the VLW gave me for the demonstration I passed on to my servants. I was not there at the time of laying out the demonstration."

A villager said: "I know some demonstration was done by the VLW on Mr. X's farm last year. I do not know what practice was involved."

This response, is indicative of the failure of villagers to perceive the demonstration as having any purpose or meaning for them and their problems.

The case of the "U.P. Method" result demonstration is typical. Different goals were held by different persons. To the villagers it was merely "some" demonstration. To the farmer it was a "fertilizer demonstration." The BDO reported it to his superiors as a "U.P. Method" result demonstration, but he also emphasized, "Nobody knows what they actually want us to do in the U.P. Method except just all that is involved in usual good agriculture. Because the target was high and pressure was great from higher authorities I reported it under the heading "U.P. Method".

Specification of Technical Practices

Largely speaking there seems to be a general failure on the part of V.L.Ws. to appreciate fully the need of making the technical practices involved in a demonstration precise, easy and clear enough to the farmers. The fertilizers lost their identity. One farmer described what he used as that "with the colour of earth." Another called it "the one like sugar", and still others simply described it as "Boree Ka Khad." Often it would simply be called "the block fertilizer", but at the same time, the VLW and block continued using the technical name. While all the above names are perfectly justified, presence of so many names for the same thing indicate the failure of block staff to evolve some common, easy and generally acceptable term in order to make the

process of communication easier and understanding clearer among all who were involved in demonstration.

The difficulties one faces in getting across exact names may be recognized, the looseness of terminology easily contributes to confusion and misunderstanding. This seems related to the frequency with which villagers, when asked what was involved in a demonstration, would answer "I don't know much about it".

Selection of Demonstrator Farmer

In five of the fourteen cases did a VLW consider a potential demonstrator farmer's ability to meet the conditions necessary to the success of the demonstration before he selected him. The points considered were: location of the field, ability to understand instruction, acceptance of the farmer by the villagers, facility of irrigation, and the nature of the soil. Quite a number of demonstrators covered by this study, were relatively big land holders as compared to most of the farmers in the village. The gram sevaks did not consult other villagers about the selection. Usually farmers were approached one after another until the required number of them agreed to undertake demonstrations. When this point was reached no others were approached nor was any particular farmer's acceptance made known to others. No evidence is available that VLWs or block supervisors were aware to the extent desirable of the need to "involve" villagers in the demonstration process.

Use of Written Plans

Not one of the VLWs had had any plan of work for the demonstration in writing. Only one indicated that any planning with the farmer for carrying out the demonstration was done. The usual story was that after the farmer agreed to have a demonstration it was started without further consideration.

Availability and Use of Supplies

In all but two of the 14 demonstrations the technical supplies (fertilizer, seed, etc.) were given free to the demonstrator. As an inducement to farmers to try out needed practices, such a policy is sound, but under pressure from superiors to fulfil certain targets, VLWs sometime used this free material simply as a lure to get "demontrations" established irrespective of need. In 3 cases, out of 11 involving use of fertilizers, result demonstrations with free fertilizer were carried out with farmers already using it.

Most of the time technical materials were supplied in time, though once or twice "top-dressing" demonstrations resulted because fertilizer arrived too late for sowing. In one instance difficulty in transporting the free fertilizer from the block to the farmer assumed unusual importance. In this case ability and willingness to transport the fertilizer determined who became the demonstrator.

Supervision by V.L.W

Taken as minimum supervision by the V.L.W., were his presence at the laying and cutting of the demonstration. In seven out of fourteen cases the VLW was present at both the times. In six cases he was not present on thèse occasions. In case of the remaining one there is no information regarding this.

Many of the VLWs reported visiting the plot "frequently" during growth, but these visits were unplanned, not geared to any specific purpose, and took place without relation to any particular evént or stage of the demonstration such as the 1st or last irrigation, the time of application of fertilizer etc. Many times the demonstration farmer was not present at the time of these visits, and seldom was anyone else with the VLW. The visits were routine; they had little to do with providing of supervision, stimulating interest, or insuring that necessary steps were taken at the right time.

Teaching During Demonstration

Though visits of small groups of farmers were reported in 9 of the 14 cases, little explanation or information was actually given at these times. The visits were concentrated at the time of laying or cutting of the demonstrations and consisted of curious neighbouring farmers who just happened to be there. Field neighbours often said "I was there at the time of sowing, but I do not know what practice was involved?".

Proof of Net Gain

The proof of net economic gain is a most critical point in leading a farmer to the acceptance of a new practice. Net gain involves a full comparative accounting of basic element (labour, irrigation, cost of fertilizer etc.) in both the demonstration and the control plots. In one of the 14 demonstrations a relatively close approximation of net gain was figured, but in none of the other 13 cases was there any evidence that this received attention. Nearly everyone of the 14 VLWs said emphatically "This is my best

demonstration because it gave the highest yield". But the estimates of yield were often vague. In two cases the only "measurement" was visual difference. Further, usually the yield estimates of the VLW and the demonstrator were different. Out of 14 cases, in case of 9 demonstrations the crop was cut separately and difference estimated. In the remaining five cases this was not done.

Whatever the difference in yield, it is clear they did not convince the farmers. Careful explanations of all factors were simply not made and, in the absence of these, even when results were better, farmers remained dubious. "Well, of course the yield is better. It is always better when more work, more water and more investment are put in," one farmer said and, commenting about the Japanese method paddy cultivation another added, "the method gives more yield but it costs also equally more." Nobody had helped either man understand the total economy of the processes, and inspite of greater yields, they were uncertain. Without detailed comparison of costs the demonstrations simply reinforced their faith in the age old truth that one will get as much as one puts into his field.

As a tool for convincing farmers that new ways are profitable these "demonstrations" were only partially successful. Out of 14 cases one farmer was following the demonstrated practice in the next crop season, while 9 indicated that they were not following the demonstrated practice and in case of remaining four cases the information is not complete. This is indicative of the failure, on the point of the farmers to understand fully the educational purposes of the demonstrations.

Visual Records

In no case was any effort made to collect any visual objects to be used later to prove the desirability of the demonstrated practice. No pictures were taken and no other visual evidence like stalks, sheaths of grains were kept. When the crop was cut and yields reported, the work was over.

Follow-up Steps

Very little evidence of any efforts such as revisiting the demonstrafor to help him adopt the practice using him and his demonstration with other groups, using visual proofs of the demonstration with others to follow-up the demonstrations were observed. Asked what they did after the demonstration, several VLWs said simply,

"nothing else, after it is cut and finished, it is finished." To the question whether the farmer was using the demonstrated practice this year the typical reply from the VLW was, "I don't know what he has done this year." From the farmers the usual answer was, "No, I have not done anything like that this Year." No evidence was obtained anywhere that VLWs either sought help from the block staff in spreading the impact of the demonstration or received any instructions or guidance suggesting that this effort should be made.

Four VLWs had used the demonstrator farmer in camps or village meetings to talk about the demonstrations, but in only two cases was there any evidence that the field or home neighbours of the farmer knew anything about the demonstration.

Evaluation

As far as a critical analysis of the demonstration process is concerned, not a single VLW could think of any improvement that needed to be made in any of the steps of the demonstration. Each said or implied the demonstration was perfect.

The Observed Demonstrations in Profile

On the basis of the above analyses the following profile emerges as the prototype of these 14 result demonstrations.

The process begins with instructions from the BDO who himself has received instructions from sources outside the block. The pertinent one of these are passed to the VLW through the agriculture extension officer who, in turn, provides the minimum technical information, usually limited to the size of plots and fertilizer doses. No further technical help is sought or given.

As with other activities, action is taken to carry out instructions the routine way that at least fulfil minimum essentials of compliance and report. The villager is brought into the process on the lure of free supply and or other reasons than his own need. One control and one or more experimental plots are laid out. The crop is sowed by the farmer or his servants. A few intermittant visits are made to the plot by the VLW but without specific purpose. A few neighbour farmers and one or two of the block staff on tour happen by once or twice but no planned explanations are given. When the crop is cut, the differences in yield are reported and generally forgotten. In five cases the crop was not even cut and weighed separately. Fresh instructions start a new but similar cycle.

The VLW fails to see the demonstration as an educational activity. Much of his work consists of service or physical activities. He thinks in the same way about demonstrations emphasizing the "activity" aspect but failing to grasp or enhance the learning or educational dimension. The pressures toward achievement and the criterion of measurement of progress in the block's operations make it difficult for him to utilize educational methods even when he senses the need for them. Technical information gets inextricably mixed with administrative authority and it becomes easy for the VLW to treat everything as an instruction to be carried out in a routine way. But education is not routine. It is its antithesis. Yet the VLW is impelled to make routine an activity that in the process, often loses its meaning.

C. SOME SUGGESTED USES OF THE STUDY

This study of VLW's work and their agriculture result demonstrations covers one of the vital action phases of the Community Development Programme. It may therefore be of some use to a number of workers in the programme. A brief suggestion here of a few its uses to persons at different levels may add to the study's significance.

VILLAGE LEVEL WORKERS

(1) *Increasing One's Efficiency.*

To the gramsevaks these case analyses present examples of how they can look back to and analyse their own activities and result demonstrations with a view to increasing their efficiency. To illustrate, after a particular result demonstration is complete the VLW can ask to himself questions such as: How clearly did the demonstrator farmer understood the purpose of the whole operation? How clearly was the "proof" of the demonstrated practice established? What technical support did he get from the block specialist and how much would need in future? Who were the persons influenced by the demonstration? A similar approach should be used for other activities.

(2) *Finding One's Own Level.*

Such a critical self analysis of the activities through the process of self evaluation, will lead him to identify his own level in the three groups of VLWs and will indicate what more is required of him to play effectively the expected role of the VLW.

(1) *Each VLW a Separate Identity.*

The study questions the block officer's present practice of treating all the VLWs alike. It was reported in each case that the BDO and EOs pay the same number of monthly visits to each VLW and give the same instructions in the same form to all of them. The analysis presented brings into clear focus, the need for block officer's to recognize that all VLWs are not alike in terms of the help they need and in terms of the situations within which they work.

(2) *Classifying VLWs.*

In this study the VLW cases have been successfully analyzed and classified in three groups on the basis of certain characteristics. This suggests the potentiality of using these characteristics by the block staff to differentiate and classify the VLWs in the block.

(3) *Helpful in Planning Supervision.*

Once each VLW is thus characterized helpful supervision and guidance in the light of these characteristics can more easily be developed. Such planned supervision and guidance may increasingly enable the VLWs to play their designated role more fully and ultimately lead to higher achievements of the block.

(4) *Reducing Chances of Biased Judgement.*

The studies provide a relatively complete basis for more objective evaluations of VLWs. Chances for misunderstanding and for Judging VLWs mainly on "hearsay" are thereby reduced.

Training Centres

(1) *A more Concrete Role Description.*

The cases provide realistic material for teaching what the role of the village level worker is, what type of behaviour and relationships constitute its fulfilment, and what kinds of behaviour are not a part of it. In the cases the VLW's role is made concrete. It is described in term of activities, relationships, successes, failures, methods, attitudes, satisfactions and dissatisfactions. It is no longer merely a verbal slogan.

(2) *Toward more Practical Training.*

Effective use of the cases will help make VLW training more practical and less theoretical. Case discussions will lead to more stimulating, teaching but they will require greater up-to-date field

knowledge from the instructors and care in preparation. To achieve this the following steps are suggested:

A. Selected cases from each type should be read and studied in advance by both VLWs and instructors.

B. Trainees should be encouraged to present a critical analysis of the activities and result demonstration of the VLW in question in terms of how the activity was planned, how people were involved, how the work was executed, what methods were used etc.

C. Trainees may be required to present their own alternative approach to any selected activity. few alternative from among these may be used by the instructor for general discussion in the class. It should be noted that the analysis given at the end of each case may be used as a basis for discussion. Some equally good analyses can be developed by each trainee or the class as a whole.

D. The instructor should guard against allowing the discussion to become unwildly. This means analysing the case himself in the light of the three types of VLW and highlighting the points which he wants to impress upon the students.

(3) *The Total Context.*

Each VLW in the study has been viewed within the total context in which he works. This means in each case a picture of some of both the static and dynamic aspects of the block and the village situation has been given. How these elements impinge upon the VLW's day to day work has been indicated. In training this can impart a more realistic picture of the situations in which the VLW will be working. These realistic views will temper stereotyped conceptions like "block-team", "model village", "helpless villagers" and minimize many unexpected disappointments and frustrations which VLWs frequently face in the villages immediately after their training.

District Officers

(1) *Softening Structural Rigidity.*

In the block structure of today the opportunities for the VLW to play his role are very limited. Those who play the role do it as a risk rather than as a normal function. The structure of

the block might be modified in such a way that role playing becomes a normal feature easily accessable to all VLWs. The urgency of such an adjustment is indicated by the fact that almost 50 per cent. of the VLWs covered by this study are sincerely trying to seek their proper role. They could be salvaged into effective role players by developing helpful supervision and by softening the procedural rigidity of the patterns of work. This would mean a great boost to the whole programme.

(2) *Problems for Consideration.*

The study highlights certain problems which fall within the purview of higher officers. Providing minimum physical facilities for VLWs, reducing the frequency of transfers, creating future prospects for VLWs are some of the problems which call for sympathetic, imaginative and helpful leadership from them.

A Note on Methodology

DURING the discussions in the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation in 1958 and 1959 on the purposes to be served by a research wing at the National Institute of Community Development, a number of research needs were mentioned. Two of these were for studies of village level workers and analyses of result demonstrations. Because the VLW, more than any other one person, brings the resources of the programme to bear upon the villager and his problems and because the result demonstration is perhaps the most important single method in improving agricultural production, studies of these two were sanctioned by the Advisory Board of the Central Institute at its meeting in mid October 1959.

Following this meeting a research team consisting of Shri D. C. Dubey, staff member of the research wing of the Institute, Dr. Willis A. Sutton, Jr., Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Kentucky, U.S.A. and Dr. Gladys Gallup, Director of Research and Training, Extension Division, United States Department of Agriculture (the latter two, Ford Foundation Consultants in Community Development Research, assigned to the National Institute) was instructed to undertake these studies under the direction of Dr. V. Nath, Research Director of the Institute.

Though the work of VLWs and result demonstration processes could be studied in many ways, it was shortly decided that the case method was the best approach for purposes at hand. In this way empirical reports could be prepared in a reasonably full context and underlying variables of particular importance could be identified. Systematic research with more exacting methods might then be more efficiently projected.

As soon as the studies were approved two members of the team spent a week in the field making preliminary contacts with block personnel, villagers and village level workers. These visits were made to secure an early realistic feel of the work of VLW. Considerable time was also spent by the staff reviewing literature, and related research.

Next general procedures and preliminary schedules of questions were developed for use in interviewing. In the last week of October these were pretested with VLWs, block staff members and villagers. A preliminary writing of case reports based on these materials preceded a revision in the schedules and procedures. Throughout the field work as experience was gained minor improvements were made. Separate schedules were prepared for interviews with (1) VLWs, (2) members of the block staff, (3) demonstrator farmers, and (4) other villagers. (A copy of each of these is appended.) Field work was completed in March 1960.

Selection of VLWs.

It was early decided that because of limited staff, time and, the desire to explore a small number of VLWs in some depth rather than a larger number superficially no attempt would be made to sample any universe of VLWs. In the first projection of the studies, it was felt that factors particularly important to the work might be more easily uncovered if the subjects were observed in pairs, a "good" worker with a "poor" worker. Accordingly it was decided that the BDO in each block to be visited, should select one VLW from among those he felt were his better gramsevaks and one from among those he felt were his poorer ones. Later this method was modified in the direction of greater objectivity. The members of the block staff were each asked to place every VLW in either a "top" group or a "bottom" group. When a man failed to be placed in either group by a majority, the entire staff together decided in which half he should be placed. After the VLWs had been so divided one from each of the two groups was chosen at random. Six of the 15 VLWs were selected in the latter method and nine by the former.*

Because of the shortness of time it was decided that blocks to be visited might be selected by the Principal and Research Director of the Institute. Travel was kept low, but to achieve some variation at least two blocks were chosen in each of the three states, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, and Rajasthan.

Major Foci.

The chief areas of interest for which information would be sought in the VLW study were identified as mainly:

1. The VLW himself, his background and work situation
2. Major activities;

*Because of certain difficulties in planning and scheduling field work, in one block only the top group VLW was interviewed.

3. Methods of work;
4. Relationships, accomplishments, and morale.

For the result demonstration study primary attention was to be given to:

1. Purposes and planning
2. Supervision and other relationships
3. Major events
4. Follow-up
5. Educational efforts, results, and changed practices.

Much of the information to be secured on each of the foci of the general VLW studies could be obtained it was felt, by a full investigation of a few major recent activities on each VLW. These, it was agreed, should be units of work on which a large proportion of his time had been spent. The identification of these and a full description of what each worker did in connection with them became a major theme of the investigation. Other questions were asked, but from these recountings of his work much could be learned about all the areas of interest in the general studies.

Each result demonstration studied was also treated as an action unit in his work. By asking "What happened next?" or "who was with you at that time?" or "Then what happened?" reasonably full account could be obtained without suggesting answers with leading questions. It should be noted here that the parts in the schedule having to do with both the activities and the result demonstrations consist largely of cue phrases to remind the researcher to check on this or that phase of the "story".

Interview as Basic Method

Getting this kind of information from VLWs, block staff and villagers required certain methods. A participant–observer approach is sometimes claimed to be ideal for case studies. Staff resource-time did not permit this. But other reasons also supported the use of an interview technique as the basic method in these studies. If care is exercised to establish rapport, valid pertinent data can be secured with this method in a short time without great involvement in subsidiary matters.

Each interview centered around the major activities and result demonstration of the VLW in question. To ensure greater validity much of the investigation focussed upon recent work–activities he engaged in during the previous fortnight or month. To give

broader perspective some opportunity was provided to learn of one or two major efforts during the previous year.

Investigation of result demonstration was purposely centered upon that particular demonstration each VLW thought was his best in the previous Rabi season.* We wanted "his best work" to consider, and we wanted the previous Rabi season demonstration in order that the impact could be more realistically determined by noting practices in the present comparable season.

Because of the dependence of all subsequent interviews upon information obtained from the VLW and because of the need to visit the result demonstration site and to talk with the villagers as soon as possible after the VLW interview, the following time schedule was found to be useful:

First day:

10.00 A.M. to about 9.00 P.M. interview with V.L.W. "**A**".

Second day:

8.00–9.30	Visit to VLW "A" 's result demonstration site and headquarters village.
**10.00–2.00	INTERVIEWS WITH VILLAGERS OF "A" 's HEADQUARTERS VILLAGE.
10.00–10.45	Demonstrator Farmer of "A" 's Headquarters village.
10.45–11.30	Panchayat President of "A" 's Headquarters village.
11.30–12.15	Coop. Society President of "A" 's Headquarters village.
12.15–1.00	Small Landholder of "A" 's Headquarters village.
1.00–1.45	Teacher of "A" 's Headquarters village.
3.00–10.00	Interview with VLW "B".

*One or two exceptions to this occured. One VLW had not been in his present circle in previous Rabi season. In field work in later case the best result demonstration in the head quarters village was selected. It was found that this was the best one in general also in these cases and it permitted more specific checking of effects with villager interviews since these were with head quarters villagers.

**The exact sequence of these interviews was varied to suit individual needs.

Third day:

8.00–9.30	Visit to VLW "B" 's result demonstration site and headquarters village.
*10.00–2.00	INTERVIEWS WITH VILLAGERS OF "B" 's HEADQUARTERS VILLAGE.
10.00–10.45	Demonstrator Farmer of "B" 's Headquarters village.
10.45–11.30	Panchayat President of "B" 's Headquarters village.
11.30–12.15	Coop. Society President of "B" 's Headquarters village.
12.15–1.00	Small Landholder of "B" 's Headquarters village.
1.00–1.45	Teacher of "B" 's Headquarters village.
2.30–3.30	Panchayat EO.
3.30–5.30	BDO.

Fourth day:

8.30–10.00	SEO.
10.00–11.30	Cooperatives EO.
2.30 on	Afternoon and evening devoted to discussion of the cases and to clarifying and completing the information with the help of the block staff.

In most cases before entering a block the research team had preliminary contact with the District Collector or the District Planning Officer and the BDOs. With them, stress was laid on the fact that the study was not evaluating the block or the VLWs but rather was seeking to describe accurately the day to day work of VLWs so that more understanding of operations at the village level might be gained. Then a tentative plan of appointments for the interviews and field observations was laid out and adjusted to local needs. Explanations of the need for the schedule and requests for cooperation resulted in nearly all persons appearing on time for interviews.

All interviews were conducted privately in rest houses near the several block headquarters. The interviewing was informal but

*The exact sequence of these interviews was varied to suit individual needs.

guided by a schedule of questions* used to insure both that certain important aspects to the investigation were not overlooked, and that all interviews were roughly comparable.

Each interview was started with a brief and spontaneous introduction designed to place the subject at ease and develop early rapport. The introduction was never the same for any two people interviewed. Its general character differed some with the type of informant *e.g.*, the villager or the block staff. A typical introduction given by Shri Dubey in Hindi to a villager went something like this:

We are from a school of study and research in Mussoorie. I am a research worker in this school. The gentleman sitting to my right is also a research worker, but from America. We are interested in knowing some of the facts about your village, your VLW, the block and about the community development programme so far as you have come to know about it.

We are not interested in finding out if the VLW is good or bad. We are not to evaluate him or his work. That is the job of his officers. Our interest is to know on what type of things he works with you in particular and with other villagers in general.

You see that we have pencils and paper with us. As you know we all forget so many good ideas and suggestions of help given to us by our friends. We are sure, that because of your being close to this programme you will also give so many good ideas to us. In order to make use of your ideas we would like to write them so that we will be sure not to forget them. However, if you feel that some particular idea or information should not be recorded by us, please feel free to let us know and you will see us put down our pencils. You can refuse us any information you do not want to give us. We also, so many times, do not want to answer some of the questions of certain other persons. So it will be perfectly all right with us if you refuse to give us any information. Lastly, we assure you we will keep our talk confidential.

As you see we have some written questions. They are simply to remind us that we get your valuable ideas about all the things which are of concern to us in this one visit you have very kindly given to us. We know you and your time are important and we cannot disturb you again and again. This list avoids the need of our taking your time again.

*Copies of the schedules are appended at the end of this "note".

We do not smoke. However, if you like to smoke we will welcome you to feel free to smoke. We will feel pleased if you accept our cigarettes as you are our guest here."

It will be noted that for each VLW three sets of sources of information were available to the authors: the VLWs, members of the block staff, and villagers. Information on the major foci of the studies was sought from each person contacted. This provided considerable opportunity for cross-checking.

Interview data were supplemented by visits to the villages and the demonstration plots under study. Such visits permitted first hand observation of some aspects of information and provided further support for the conclusion that valid information was secured by the interviews.

We are confident that within the privacy of the rest house and with the kind of rapport attained valid and accurate information was obtained. It is extremely doubtful if the kind of information secured could have been obtained in any other fashion. Though observation within the villages and in the cultivators' fields was used to advantage, these could not supplant the major source of information, the guided interview. For, it is difficult to see how spontaneity and confidence in the interview situation could be developed in the village situation where privacy is seldom available*.

Generally speaking the writers feel that the methods used in these studies were effective, appropriate, and objective. Their special merit consists in the fact that within a relatively short time they return significant, valid and useful information on the dynamics of the day to day work of the VLW, general operation of the block, and the villagers' involvement in the entire process. Undoubtedly further improvements can and should be made but these methods and procedures can serve as fruitful bases for further work.

*Some scientists have suggested group interview to meet such situations. However this would not have provided the same sort of information.

Interview Guides

Suggestions on Further Research

Two lines of further research relevant to the problems and potentialities of VLW effectiveness are suggested by this work. First certain investigations into the distribution, degree, and inter-relationships of one or more of the specific variables herein identified could be undertaken with more precise, quantitative methods. For example a study could learn in how many result demonstrations in one or more blocks the agriculture EO, the VLW, and the demonstrator farmer held the same purpose? Or, with reference to the broader aspects of the VLW's work, one might seek to determine the relationship between a VLW's achievements and his acceptance by the majority groups of his circle, or find out the effect satisfactory physical amenities have upon the outlook and attitudes of VLWs?

A number of such studies may be envisioned. Their possibilities considered in relation to the needs of the programme should lead to the identification of those most likely to render the greatest service.

A second line of further research suggested here is simply the addition of more case analyses of the same type as these. Such studies made in different parts of India would seem highly useful both to provide material more specifically pertinent to all parts of the country and to insure the identification and clarification of all variables of great significance to the operations of the programme at the village level.

While the methodology used in the studies here reported is generally satisfactory, several improvements may be suggested for any additional efforts along these lines. First, VLWs for study should be chosen through some systematic procedure of sampling. An adequate random sample of community development blocks in the nation should be utilized. Whether the universe for such a sample should include all blocks in existence as of a certain date or be limited to those in operation one, two or more years in certain regions depends upon the purposes then held. In any event a sample broadly representative of blocks in major regions of the country should be sought.

In each block VLWs to be studied should be selected randomly, one from the upper and one from the lower half as was done in the last three blocks of the current studies. This provides one relatively good and one relatively poor VLW in each block. Having two subjects under the same staff reduces interview time since the exploration of the work of two VLWs with a staff member taken only a little more time than comparable explorations for only one.

The same type of private interviewing combined with brief village visits should constitute the primary method. For the purposes in hand, it is believed this yields the maximum return for the time invested.

Certain modifications in the interview guides are suggested however. First the information yielded by a number of questions originally included either was so small or of so little pertinence to final purposes that these questions may profitably be omitted. These questions are marked with an asterisk in the appended guides.

The only other change offered regarding the interview schedule is that more of the interview be directed toward the exploration of major work units, projects, or activities of the VLWs and the particular ones to be explored be more carefully identified in accordance with specific criteria. The activities selected for study should be (1) representative of different fields of interest and different agriculture seasons, (2) completed actions, (3) projects which extended in time at least over a period of a month, and (4) activities which took place within the previous 12 months. Such activities would be large enough to provide insights into the VLW's work. They would be those having the greatest involvement of villagers and block staff. And the recentness in time would permit reasonably good recall. A revised page or two of the VLW schedule showing specific suggestions to implement this modification will be found at the end of the original VLW's schedule. Parallel changes in other schedules can easily be envisioned.

After the activities or projects have been selected for study, more time should be taken in the interview to secure as complete a picture of each activity as may be possible from each respondent. One additional step in the field work procedures may help in this. Following the interviews with the block staff, a brief concluding interview with each of the two VLWs should be scheduled. This will permit final clarification with the VLWs of questions arising about their work during the interviews with others.

Finally a word of caution. These kinds of case studies cannot be undertaken with any expectation of success without well-trained research personnel. The essence of the method is the ability of the researcher (1) to develop rapport quickly with a variety of respondents and (2) to phrase his coments and questions in such a fashion that they not only permit, but make easy, responses that are honest and sincere whatever their content. These skills require both training and experience. Good intentions cannot substitute for them. Indeed, in the hands of unskilled, however well-meaning, persons

similar research may result in much invalid information. The VLW, villager, and block staff member seem highly skilled in sensing an outsider's wants and very adopt in tailoring their responses in these directions. It is extremely easy therefore, to obtain misinformation and misrepresentation.

This possibility is doubly dangerous if any indication, in word or manner, however slight is given that the confidential quality of the communication may be infringed. Future research will certainly depend upon the reputation for preserving anonymity and keeping research and disciplinary action of even the mildest variety rigidly seperated.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

VLW and Result Demonstration Case Studies Time Record ....
Start ....

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR VLWs "A" AND "B" End........................

VLW "A" or "B" .... Date........................

Block......................Place...............Interviewer...............

I. *INTRODUCTION.* 1. How long have you been a VLW ? ....Years.

2. In how many Blocks have you served as VLW ? ....Blocks.

3. How long have you been a VLW in this Block? ....Years.

4. How long have you been a VLW in this circle ? ....Years.

5. How many villages do you have in your circle ? ....Villages.

6. What is your Hdqrs. village ? ....Hdqrs. Village.

7. About how many people live in this Hqrs. Village. ....People.

II. *YOUR WORK.* As you know, we mainly would like a picture of what you do in your work....how you work, problems etc. Let's first talk just about last month.

8. Tell us the main things, activities, you spent your time on last month. List anything, but only those things, you feel were major parts of your work the last four weeks.

(1) ....(2) ....

(3) ....(4) ....

(5) ....(6) ....

(7) ....(8) ....

(9) ....(10) ....

9. On which five of these would you say you spent the most time ? (Put a "T" by each of these above)

Interviewer now *selects three* of these five for description from 3 different (if possible) substantive fields: (1) agriculture and animal husbandry; (2) Health and Sanitation; (3) Cooperatives; (4) Panchayats; (5) Schools and Formal Education; (6) Social Education (including youth and women's work); and (7) Communication & Others.

10. We would like you to tell us as much as you can, but briefly, about these three? (1)......................... in ....; (2).......... ....in..............; (3)..........................in ....

o.................................in.................................

(1) How decide to do this and when ? Relation, as he sees it to village, Block, State and National Planning and Policy, if any ?

(2) Who, individuals and Groups, did you see and when ?

(3) Methods used ?

(4) Any Village leaders help? Why ?

(5) What any of Block Staff did.

(6) Any difficulties ?

(7) Any plans on this for next month ?

(8) Block advisory Committee on this ?

(9) Reports you submitted on this.

You have told us now about some work in each of the fields.................. ....and....................(interviewer mentioning the three fields represented).

11. Now, during the past year, did you carry out any project or do any work that took considerable time in these other fields (mentioning each of the following not already represented ?)

(1) Agriculture and animal husbandry ; (2) Health and sanitation ;

(3) Cooperatives ; (4) Work with Panchayats ;

(5) Schools and Education ; (6) Social Education ;

(7) Communication and others.

(NOTE: If VLW does not feel he has done anything significant in a field in the past year, place an "X" in front of that number).

12. Which two of these activities or projects (indifferent fields) did you spend the most time on ?

(1) ....(2) ....

13. Tell us all you can about each of these two. First, No. 1 then 2 :

(1) How decide to do this and when ? Relationship, as he sees it, to village block, state, and National Planning and Policy, if any ?

(2) Who, individuals and Groups, did you see and when ?

(3) What methods used ?

(4) Any leaders help ? Why ?

(5) What any of Block Staff did?

(6) Any difficulties ?

(7) Any Plans on this for next year ?

II. *RESULT DEMONSTRATIONS.* Now, we would like to talk more specifically about one particular part of your work.

14. As you see it, what does a Result Demonstration consist of .... in other words what are its essential elements or steps ?

(NOTE : If respondent obviously can't say, give following def...... : RDs are steps taken by a farmer under guidance of the VLW to prove that a recommended practice is locally advantageous and definitely superior to the old way.)

15. How many agricultural RDs did you lay or carry out during the previous (Rabi or Kharif) season ? (NOTE : Ask this for whichever season is current. This will permit follow-up on effects.) (Encircle either Rabi or Kharif) Number ....

16. How did it happen you put on this number ?

17. How many RDs did you do at that time in your Hdqrs V ? No.............

18. Were all these on the same thing ? Yes............; No.............
What ?

19. Which of these RDs in your Hdqrs V do you think was your best ? Who was the farmer ? Best was.......................type.
On farm of ....in hdqrs of ....

20. Why do you feel this was the best ? In what ways ?

21. Are there any ways you felt this was not a good RD ?
Yes....................; No...................IF YES, What ?

22. Now tell us all you can about this RD.

(1) Purpose
(2) Who hope to influence ?
(3) When, & how started ? Any farmers already using practice ?
(4) Why this demonstrator chosen ? (Relation of "D" with BDO, Ag. EO or SEO).
(5) Plot : Size and Location.
(6) Comparative yields-records-pictures ?
(7) Participation of Block......Espec. Ag EO. See Ag. EO after demons ?
(8) People present at Demonstration Site ?
At sewing ?
At cultivations ?
At harvesting ?

(9) Follow-up since harvest — (a) who talked with ? (b) who now uses ?

Persons	(a) Talked with ?	(b) Now uses.
1. Demonstrator		
2. Field Neighbours		
3. House Neighbours.		
4. Choupal & Relatives.		
5. Others		

(10) If put this kind of RD on again, what would you do differently ?

IV. *THE PLANNING PROCESS.* Let's talk a little more about your hdqrs. V. You said you have about................people in this village.

23. What do you think people of this village are concerned about, if anything........ things they would like something done about right now ?

1............................ 2..................................
3............................ 4..................................
5............................ 6..................................

*24. Which of these do you think people are most concerned about ?
Number above ....

*25. What makes you think these villagers are particularly concerned about this? Anything specifically happened?

*26. Have you talked with any one (villagers or TOs) about this? anything specifically happened? Yes................; No.... ....
IF YES, to whom along what line? Anything else being done

*27. We would like you now to tell us about this or the last (Rabi or kharif) campaign.

(NOTE : If the reason is well under way, take the current season ; if not, take the previous season.) Tell us your purposes or Goals, how you came to have these purposes, whether those were different from other VLWs in Block, role of villagers in setting goals, relationship of your purposes to Block's, how your work was organised ....how much time did you spend on this?

*28. Have you done any work to try to get families to set up and follow agriculture production plans for families? Yes........................ ? No.................
IF YES, What did you do? How did it work? Suggestions?
IF NO, Why not? What percentage of families have production plan?

*29. So far as you know, have any members of the Block staff ever worked directly with any of your villagers, or have they always worked with villagers through you? Mainly, directly..................; Mainly through me............ ....
Give an example of each if you can.

*30. About what part of your time in the last month would you say you spent in your hdqrs village? About. ....per cent.

*31. During the last calendar month, how many reports did you prepare and submit? Number.......................... ....In what ways did these help or hinder in your work?

Help : Hinder :

*32. Dose the Block have a Block Advisory Committee? Yes......................;
No....................................; Don't know........................ ...

*33. IF YES; Does your hdqrs. V. or circle have a person who represents them on this committee? Yes...................; No.............. ......; Don't know........

*34. IF Yes to 33 : What, if any, contacts have you had with this or these representatives? None...............................

V. *TRAINING*

*35. Did you have any training for your VLW job? Yes..............; No........
If Yes : In what ways has it helped you?

*36. Since your training, what contacts if any, have you had with any of the training centres? None........................... If any, what kind, When?

VI. *RELATIONSHIPS*

37. At the time you completed your training, what type of relationships with colleagues in the Block did you expect? How did this pan out?

38. In the last month or two have you talked over any problems with any of the Block staff? Yes......................; No. ....
IF YES, Were they :

1. Work Problemss? Yes...............; No...............IF YES, What sort, with whom?

2. Personal Problems? Yes....................; No.... ....IF YES, What sort, with whom?

39. What problems did you take to the last staff meeting? None................
If any, what help did you get from the staff and from other VLWs? Any other contacts with VLWs on this?

40. During the past month, how many times did each of the following visit you in your circle? Tell us what was done at the last visit.

	Number Visits	*Action at Last Visit*
BDO		
AG EO		
SEO		
Panch EO		
Coop EO		
Other EO		

41. In their work VLWs come into touch with many people....some often, some not very often. We would like you to think quickly over your contacts with each of the following people in your *hdqrs village* and tell us whether, during the past year, you have often or seldom been in touch with each one.
(Interviewer, encircle "often" or "seldom" after each.)

*42. Now, we would like you to think again quickly about these same people and tell us whether in your dealings with each you found him USUALLY helpful and cooperative or only "SOMETIMES" helpful and cooperative.
(Interviewer, encircle "Usually" or "Sometimes" after each)

*43. Now, here is a person you indicate was:
(Interviewer, select one of each type if there is one below)
(1) Contacted often and usually was helpful.
(2) Contacted often, and but only sometimes helpful.
(3) Contacted seldom, but usually helpful.
(4) Contacted seldom and only sometimes helpful could you give us an example of the way he has acted?

Frequency and Type Relation — *Example*

(1) Teacher
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

(2) Coop Secretary
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

(3) Coop Pres.
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

(4) Headman
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

(5) Patwari
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

(6) Panchayat Sec.
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

(7) Baniya or Moneylender
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

(8) Panchayat Pres.
often/seldom
usually/sometimes
....

VII. ATTITUDES-EXPECTATIONS.

44. As you see it what do the villagers expect of you ?

45. What do you think the BDO expects of the VLW ?

46. Do you ever find it difficult to serve both these expectations of the BDO and the villagers ? Yes........................; No...................

47. Just what do you think the VLWs job is ?

*48. As you know, your work as a VLW involves different kinds of efforts with people We want to think a little know about one way of classifying the different work you do IN AGRICULTURE. First, though, let us describe four sorts of work, into which your work in agriculture can be divided. (Give him the four statements of role. Let him read : ask if there are any questions and if he understands the different roles.)

Now considering all your work in agriculture, tell us which of these four kinds of work takes more of your time than any other. Encircle one :

1 2 3 4.

*49. Do you think which takes the next most time in agriculture ? Encircle one : 1 2 3 4.

*50. Which takes the next most time ? Encircle one:
1 2 3 4.

*51. Now, about what proportion of your time in agriculture would you say you spent on ....? (role taking most time)...................%

*52. About what per cent of your agriculture time do you think was spent on the work you said took second most time?.........................%

*53. About what per cent was spent on the third ?..................%

*54. Now, think of this a little more. In order to get the very best results in your efforts to get cultivators to improve their farming, do you think this is about the way your time in agriculture should be divided or should this division be different ? Same.......................Different.................

*55. *IF DIFFERENT* : On which of these kinds of activities do you think you should spend the most time ? On number.......................

*56. *IF DIFFERENT* : On which of them do you think you should spend the next most time ? On number...................

*57. *IF DIFFERENT* : On which do you think you should spend the third mos time ? On number..................

*58. *IF DIFFERENT* : Further, about what percentage of your time do you think you should spend on the kinds of work you ranked first in question "55" ....per cent.

*59. *IF DIFFERENT* : About what per cent on the work ranked second ? ....per cent.

*60. *IF DIFFERENT* : About what per cent on the work ranked third ...... per cent.

61. What particularly, if anything, do you like about your job ?

62. What particularly, if anything, do you dislike about your job ?

63. What do you feel are your chief strengths and weaknesses as a VLW

Strengths.........................

Weaknesses........................

64. What do you feel have been your major accomplishments or achivements as a VLW in this Block ?

*65. Do you have any particular ambitions about what you would like to achieve in the future as a VLW ? Yes..............No...............What ?

66. What, if any thing, do you read in connection with your work ? Nothing..

VIII. CIRCLE SITUATION Let us get a few more facts about your circle.

67. How far is your headquarters village from.
(*a*) the farthest village ?........Ms. (*d*) Block Hdqrs............Miles
(*b*) Nearest village ?..........Ms. (*e*) Post Office ?............Miles
(*c*) nearest pucca rd ?..........Ms. (*f*) Distt. Hdqrs ?..............Mile

68. How many of your villages are easily approachable by circle all year around ? Number.........................

69. About how much time would you say you spend each day on the road ? Hours ....

70. About how many night halts did you make last month ? No............

71. How many people live in the largest of your villages ? ....

72. About how many live in the smallest village ?..................

73. What are the main crops in your circle in order of importance ?
(1)................(2)....................(3)......................
(4)................(5)....................(6)......................

74. About what per cent of the people in your circle are ?
(1) in agri. ?...........% (2) Labourers ?...........% (3) Other things.................%.

75. What caste do most people in your circle belong to ?..................

76. What is your family's caste ?.......................

77. Does this caste situation affect your work in any way ? Yes.............. No...................IF YES, How ?

78. How many of each of these local institutions or facilities do you have in your circle ?
(*a*) Panchayats .... (*h*) Maternity Centres..............
(*b*) Cooperatives .... (*i*) Youth Clubs..................
(*c*) Primary Schools .... (*j*) Mahila Mandals..............
(*d*) Higher Schools .... (*k*) Community Centres............
(*e*) Hospitals .... (*l*) Libraries ....
(*f*) Dispensaries.................. (*m*) Community Listening Sets......
(*g*) Health Centres .... (*n*) Sports & Recreation Clubs........

IX. BACKGROUND Now, just a few items about you, yourself.

79. How old are you ?.................years.

80. Did you live the first 15 to 17 years of your life in a village...............; or in a town or city..............................?

81. What did your father do for a living ?

82. Do you or your family own land ? Yes..............; No.......... Acres...................

83. How much education have you had ?

84. What other jobs, if any, have you had ? None................

85. Are you married ? Yes..............No...............Wife comes from village/city.................... No. of children.................No.

86. How many months each year do you have your family with you in your hdqrs. and how many months are you alone ? Family with................ alone...................

87. How does your wife feel about your being a VLW ?

88. What are your residence facilities ? Pucca/Kuccha. Pump.............. No. of rooms...............; kind of chulla...........kind of latrine.... ....

89. How do you feel about the Community Development Programme. ?

90. Do you have any suggestions for the improvement of this programme ?

No.......................

SUGGESTED REVISIONS OF THE INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR VLWs A AND B.

(The following two pages are suggested as substitutions for Questions 8 through 12—"YOUR WORK" section........of the preceding guide.)

II. *YOUR WORK* As you know, we mainly would like a picture of what you do.... how you work, your problems, how you see, etc.

.First we would like you to list for us the major projects or activities you worked on during the last 12 months in your *headquarters village*. List *ONLY* those on which (1) action extended over a period of time of a month or more *and* (2) action is, for the present at least, complete.

(1) ....

(2). ....

(3). ....

(4). ....

(5). ....

(6). ....

(7). ....

(8). ....

9. Which of these do you feel you worked on most effectively ? Number........ Why ?

10. In which activity did you work most with the villagers ? Number.......... With the next largest number ;.................

11. In which activity did you have the most contact with members of the block staff ? Number.............; Next most contact ;..............

NOTE TO INTERVIEWER : From a consideration of the above list select four or five to investigate fully. If possible take activities in at least four different fields (health, agriculture, education, etc.). In any event take the one he felt he worked on most effectively. Answers to questions 10 and 11 can also be used as guides on the selection.

Items Selected for analysis are numbers:......;......;......;......;......

Page 2—Revised VLW Schedule

(NOTE : This page would appear five or six times in each schedule....a different copy to be used for each activity investigated.)

12. ACTIVITY FOR ANALYSIS :..................................

(1) How started and ended and dates—

(2) Sequence of events, contacts, decisions, meetings—

(3) Methods—

(4) Village leaders part—

(5) Block staff's part—

(6) Block Advisory (or Development) Committee or Samitis part—

(7) Problems—

(8) Reports submitted on this—

(9) Perceived relation to village, block, state & national policy—

(10) Effects on future work with this village—

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

VLW and Result Demonstration Case Studies *Time Record*

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR HEADQUARTERS' VILLAGERS

Start ....

End ....

Hdprs. V'ger, A or B....................Position ....

Block...............Place................Date........Interviewer......

1. How long have you been (Pres. or Sec. of Panch. or Coop, Teacher, Patwari, or cultivator) in this village? Since...............................

2. How long have you lived in this village? For................Years.

3. What is your age? Age..

4. What schooling have you had?..

*5. (FARMERS ONLY) What are your 3 main crops in order of importance?

(1)....................(2)....................(3)....................

6. Who is the VLW who serves your village? "A" or "B", Dont' know.....

*7. (COOP ONLY :) What type of cooperative do you have?

....

*8. (COOP OR PANCH ONLY :) How many members do you have in your (Coop, or Panch)? Members...

9. (COOP OR PANCH ONLY :) How many villages does your (Coop or Panch) serve? Villages...

10. (COOP OR PANCH ONLY) About how many meetings did your (Coop or Panch) hold last year?...............Meetings. About how many of these did the VLW attend? About.................................

11. (COOP or Panch Only): What would you say were the one or two major accomplishments, if any, of your (coop or panch) in the past year? In what way, if any, did the VLW help on these?

(1) ....

(2). ....

....

12. VLW (A or B) has told us about several of the main things he worked on during the past month. These were: (see three below). Did you (or your organization........Panch/Coop/School) play any part in or were you affected in any way by, any of these? What did you do? How were you affected? What did you hear about them?

(1) .... Nothing............................

(2). .... Nothing............................

(3). .... Nothing............................

13. DID you (or your organizations. . . .Panch, coop, or school) play any part in or were you affected in any way by, these other things the VLW mentioned having worked on during the past year in each of these fields ? If so, what or in what way ?

(1). . . . . .in. . . . . Field. Nothing . . . . . .

(2). . . . . .in. . . . . Field. Nothing . . . . . .

Now we would like to talk with you about a Result Demonstration that VLW (Aor B) told us about. This was put on during the past (Rabi or Kharif) season in the village of . . . . .on the land of. . . . . (demonstrator).

14. Do you know the demonstrator farmer ? Yes. . . . . ; No. . . . .;

IF YES, how long have you known him ? Since. . . . . ; or for. . . . . ; yrs.

15 Is this DF regarded : (1) as a large. . . . . ; average. . . . . : or small. . . . . .landowner in the village ?

16. Does this DF visit your choupal or group ? Yes. . . . . ; No. . . . . How often. ?

17. Is this D.F. a house neighbour of yours ? Yes. . . . . ; No. . . . .

18. Is this D.F. a field neighbour of yours ? Yes. . . . . ; No. . . . .

19. Is this DF a relative of yours ? Yes. . . . . ; No. . . . .

20. We would like you now to tell us anything you know about this RD Knows nothing of it. . . . . How did you hear of it ? Did the VLW talk with you about it ? Any of Block Staff talk with you ? See it ? Know any who saw it ? Using ? Know any who are using ?

(1) Purpose
(2) Nature of yield
(3) Who now uses
(4) People present at 3 times
(5) VLW and Block action.

21. (FARMERS ONLY :) Has the VLW ever put on any RDs on your land ?

Yes. . . . . ; No. . . . . .IF YES, how many ? Number . . . . What did they demonstrate ?

Are you using this now or have you used it ? Yes. . . . . ;

No. . . . . IF NO, Why not ?

22. (FARMERS ONLY :) Has the VLW helped you with any other improvement ?

Yes. . . . . ; No. . . . . .IF YES. What ?

23. What are the major things, if any, which you feel your hdqrs village is most concerned about now. . . . . .things they would like to do some thing about ?

(1). . . . . (4) . . . .

(2). . . . . (5) . . . .

(3). . . . . (6) . . . .

*24. Which one of these do you think the people are most concerned about ?....
....

25. NOTE : Place here the concern thought to be most important the VLW....
.....................................ASK regarding this What, if anything has been done about this ? BY :

(1) Villagers

(2) VLW

(3) Any of the Block Staff.

*26. With which of the following are you on best terms ?

SEO...........; BDO...........; VLW............; Ag. EO........;

*27. In each season the Block and VLW seek to help farmers improve their crops and farming methods. Tell us anything you remember about what the VLW and Block staff members did and said in the last (Rabi or Kharif) campaign was anything said about the nation's, state's or Block's goals and how your (3) village could or did fit into this ?

28. As a villager, what do you expect of the VLW ?

*29. In your observation, has the VLW worked in your village mainly with : (1) influential persons..........; (2) progressive farmers..............; (3) ordinary farmers........; or (4) with all three..........

30. What do you think are the chief strengths and chief weaknesses of your VLW (A or B) ?

Strengths

Weaknesses.

31. Have you talked with the VLW personally in the last month or two about any problems either personal or of your group (coop. panch, or school) or village? Yes...........; No...........IF YES, how did this happen? What did you talk about ?

32. What is your caste? ....

33. Do you know the caste of the VLW/ Yes.........; No........IF YES, What?

34. Does his caste affect his work in any way as far as you can tell ? Yes........; No...........IF YES, How ?

35. What, if anything, have been the main things, the VLW (A or B) has accomplished in your village? Nothing can think of........

36. What do you think of the CD programme and its future ?

37. Do you think of anything that might be done to improve this programme ?

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

VLW and Result Demonstration Case Studies Time Record :

Start ....

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR BLOCK STAFF End......................

BDO or EO........................Position......................

Block...........Place.................Date......... Interviewer..........

1. How long have you been a BDO (or EO) ?........................Yrs.

2. How long have you been a BDO (or EO) in this Block ? ....Yrs

*3. How many Blocks have you served as BDO (EO) ?.................Blocks.

*4. Have you had any other jobs in the CD Programme ? Yes..........; No.............

*5. BDO ONLY : About how many people in the Block ?.............People.

*6. BDO ONLY : How many villages in the Block ? ....Villages.

*7. BDO ONLY : What are the positions on your staff ? List and "X" any not occupied.

*8. How many VLWs ?...VLWs.

*9. BDO ONLY : How often is the regular meeting of the Block Staff ?

Do you have an EO meeting exclusive of VLW ? Yes......; No........ How often ?

*10. BDO ONLY : Are there any important differences between "A" 's and "B"s circles ? Yes................; No...........IF YES, What ?

11. BDO ONLY : Do you have any division of responsibility for circles among your EOs ? Yes..........; No.........IF YES, How ? Who is responsible for "A" ?........; For "B" ....

*12. BDO ONLY : What are the main characteristics and problems of this Block ?

13. BDO ONLY : What, general do you expect of the VLW ?

14. EO ONLY : Besides the VLW, do you have assistants ? Yes........... No.........IF YES, How many and with what responsibilities ?

15. EO ONLY : In your field, what do you expect of the VLW ?

*16. The work of a VLW involves different kinds of efforts with people. We want to think a little now about one way of classifying the different work the VLWs do in agriculture. Here is a description of four sorts of work a VLW may do in agriculture. (Let him read the statement and answer his questions) On which of these four sorts of work in agriculture do you feel a good VLW should put more of his time than on any of the others ? Encircle one : 1 2 3 4

*17. Which do you think the VLW should spend the next greatest amount of time on in agriculture ? 1 2 3 4.

*18. Which do you think the VLW should spend the tired greatest time on ? 1 2 3 4.

*19. Now, we would like you to think a little about VLW "A" AND VLW "B" in regard to these ways of working in agriculture. For each of them, tell us on which of these four kinds of work they put the most time, on the 2nd most and the third most time.

	Most Time				*2nd Most Time*				*3rd Most time*			
VLW "A"	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
VLW "B"	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4

20. As you know, we want to talk mainly about the work of two VLWs. First about VLW "A", "A" told us of three of the main things he worked on last month. Would you now tell us anything you may know about each of these three—how it fit or didn't into the Block Programme, how it is related to instructions from above, whether you talked with VLW or villagers about it, anything you did.

1............................Knows nothing..........................

2............................Knows nothing..........................

3............................Knows nothing..........................

"A" also told us about two efforts in other fields he had carried on last year that he felt were significant.

21. Would you also tell us anything you know about each of these: How it fitted or did not into the block programme, related to instructions from above, talks with VLW or villagers, anything you did.

(1) ....In the.......................field.

(2) ....In the.......................field.

One of the main parts of the work of a VLW with Result Demonstrations. Before we talk about one of these for each VLW, let us ask one or two general questions about RDs in the Block.

22. BDO. Ag. EO, SEO ONLY : As you see it, what are the essential elements or steps in a result demonstration ?

*23. BDO and Ag. EO ONLY : How many RDs are now being carried out in this Block? Number.......... ; Don't know ....Why this number?

*24. BDO, AG, EO OTHERS ONLY IF RESPONSIBLE FOR A or B : How are these RDs divided among the VLWs ? How many is "A" doing ?.... ....BY A ; How many is "B" doing ? ....by "B". Doesn't know........How were these numbers to be done decided ?

*25. BDO, Ag, EO, OTHERS ONLY IF RESPONSIBLE FOR A or B: How would you rate "A" and "B" in their relative success in using RDs effectively? (1) about equal............(2) A better than B........(3) B better than A ....;(4) can't say......... If 1, 2 or 3 : On what is this based?

26. VLW "A" told us about the Result Demonstration, which he felt was quite successful on the land of.. : in his headquarters village of...................................in the past rabi or kharif season. We would like you to tell us anything you can about this particular result demonstration — how it came to be, how it fit into Block policy, what you did, if anything, etc. Purpose and who hope to influence ? .... Was this a successful RD ?

Why this demonstration ?

Your informal relations with Demonstrator

Your visits to plot

Who saw it at three times ?

Records—comparative yield

Follow up : with VLW, Demonstrator Others ?

*27. Let's talk now little about the situation in "A" 's Headquarters village. "A" mentioned that at the present time he felt these villagers were most concerned about—would like to do something about.................. Have you heard anything about this ? Yes............; No..........; If yes, What ? VLW talked with you about it ? Any villagers talked with you about it ? You worked with any villagers on this ? Anything being done ?

*28. BDO and Ag. EO ONLY : What has been done, if anything, in "A" 's circle to get families to set up and follow family agricultural production plans How many families in "A" 's circle, if any, have such plans ? Who and How ?

Now let us Talk For A While About VLW "B".

29. " B" also told us about three of the main things he had worked on during the last month. We would like you now to tell us anything you know about each of these — how it fits or does't fit into the Block Programme, how it relates to instructions from above, what, if anything you had to do with it, whether talked with VLW, villagers or others.

(1).......................Knows nothing ....

(2).......................Knows nothing ....

(3).......................Knows nothing ....

30. "B" also told us about two specific things he had done in the past year in regard to other fields. Would you tell us anything you know about these activities —how they fit or didn't into the Block programme, how it related to instructions from above, what, if anything you had to do with it, etc.

(1)..........................In field..............................

(2)..........................In field ....

31. "B" told us about the result demonstration which he felt was quite successful on the land of..in his headquarter village of...in the past....................................season. Would you tell us anything that you can about this particular RD— how it came to be, how it fit into Block programme, what a specifically you did, if anything, about its purpose etc.

Why this demonstration ?

Your information relations with demonstrator

Your visit to plot

Who saw it at three times ?

Records—comparative yield

Follow-up : with VL, Demonstrator, Others ?

*Now, a little more about the situation in "B" 's headquarters villages. "B ' said that at the present time he felt the villagers here were most concerned about and would like to do something about.......................... Have you heard anyting about this ? Yes.......... ; No..........IF YES, What ? Has VLW "B" talked with you about it ? Did you work directly with villagers about it ? What's being and what can be done ?

*33. *BDO and Ag.EO ONLY* : What has been done if anything in "B" 's circle to get families to set up and follow family agriculture production plans? How many of his families now have such plans? Number............ Don't know.............Who and how ?

*34. BDO and SEO ONLY : Is there a Block Advisory Committee in this Block? Yes ....; No ....; Don't know..........IF YES, What is its propose? If no, why not or what has happened?

35. BDO and SEO ONLY : (If there is a BAC) How often does it meet ?

36. *BDO and SEO ONLY* : (If there is a BAC) What is its constituency ? VLWs ? Members from each circle ?

*37. *BDO and SEO ONLY* (IF there is a BAC) Does VLW "A" work with this Committee (or his area's representative if any) ? Yes ....; No......................; Don't know............How ?

*38. *BDO AND SEO ONLY* : (IF there is a BAC) Does VLW "B" work with this Committee (or his area's representative if any)? Yes...............; No..................; Don't know................How ?

39. Now we would like to get a good picture of how the Block works in relation to VLWs and villagers. Would you tell us with this mind about the last...... (Rabi or Kharif) campaign....as it involved "A" and "B" and their villages. That is what were the goals of the Block? What were "A" and "B" asked to do in relation to these? What part did "A" and "B" play in these decisions? How did it happen that each was asked to do the things he was ? What part did the villagers play in these matters?

Block level actions—

How "A" was involved.

How "B" was involved.

40. In general, he does VLW "A" work with villagers ?

1. Very well...... (2) Fairly well...... (3) Not very well................ Can you give any specific examples ?

41. Which, if any one, group in the villages would you say VLW "A" works mainly with? (1) Influential persons............(2) Progressive farmers ....or (3) Ordinary farmers.......... (4) Equally............

42. In general how does VLW "A" work with the various members of the Block Staff? (1) Very well............; (2) Fairly well............; or (3) Not very well................; (4) Don't know..............Can you give any specific examples Yes.................; No............ If YES, What ?

43. In general, how does VLW "B" work with villagers ? (1) Very well .... (2) Fairly well..........;(3) Not very well.......................... Can you give any specific examples ? Yes ....; No..........

*44. Which, if any one group, in the villages would you say VLW "B" progressive works with mainly? (1) influential persons ....
(2) Progressive farmers........ (3) Ordinary farmers ....
(4) Equally with all.

45. In general he does VLW "B" work with various members of the Block staff?
(1) Don't know .... (2) Very well ....
Can you give any specific examples ? Yes............; No. ....

46. What do you think are the chief strengths and chief weaknesses of VLW "A"?

Strengths :

Weaknesses :

47. What do you think are the chief strengths and weaknesses of VLW "B"

Strengths :

Weaknesses :

48. Do you know VLW "A"'s caste ? Yes............; No. ....
IF YES, what ? ....Does this affect his work in any way ?
Yes....................; No. ....IF DOES, How ?

49. Do you know VLW "B"'s caste ? Yes ....; No. ....
IF YES, what ? ....Does this affect his work in any way ? Yes................; No. ....IF DOES HOW ?

50. In general, about how often if at all do you visit VLW "B" ? Tell us in some detail about your last visit to him in his circle

51. In general, about how often if at all do you visit VLW "B"? Tell us in some detail about your last visit to him in his circle.

52. What, if you can recall any, have been the main things that "A" has accomplished with his villagers since being in the Block ? Can't recall any........

53. What if you can recall any, have been the main things that "B" has accomplished with his villagers since being in the Block ? Can't recall any————

NOW A FEW WORDS ABOUT YOUR OWN BACKGROUND

54. How old are you ?................................Years.

55. What education have you had ?

*56. What training, if any did you have for the present job ?

57. What do you think of the future of the Community Development Programme

58. What suggestions, if any, would you like to make to improve this programme ?

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

VLW and Result Demonstration Case Studies *Time Record* :...........

INTERVIEW GUIDE : DEMONSTRATION FARMER Start————

End ....

Demonstrator (A or B)...............................Date ....

Block.................Place Interviewer ....

1. How long have you live in this village,................................Years

2. In order of importance, what are your three main crops ?
(1) .... (2) .... (3) ....

3. In relation to other farmers in your village, do you have : more land ....: less land............ ; about the same amount............?

4. As you see it, what is the job of the VLW ?

5. About how long have you know VLW (A or B) ? ....Years

6. In your observation, would you say he worked in your village mainly with (1) influential persons..........; (2) progressive farmers................; or (3) ordinary farmers..............? (4) with all about equally.......

7. We understand that an important Result Demonstration was put on at your farm last (Rabi or Kharif) season. We would like to talk with you about this for a while. First, though could you tell us, as you see it, just what does a Result Deomonstration consist of........what are its main steps ?

   (*Definition*...for use *ONLY* if respondent has no idea) Result demonstrations are steps carried out by a farmer usually under guidance of a VLW to prove that some new and advantageous practice applies locally and is superior to some old way).

8. This particular Result Demonstration we want to talk about was the one on your farm during the 1st (Rabi or Kharif) season involving............. Please tell us all you can remember about this RD and its results.
   1. Purpose ?
   2. Who hope to influence ?
   3. When and how started ? Any already using ?
   4. Why were you chosen demonstrator ?
   5. Plots : size and location ?
   6. Comparative yields -records-pictures ?

9. How many people of each kind saw the demonstration at these times ?

	VLW	Field Neighbours	House Neighbours	Relative	Blocs staff Others
At planting					
At Cultivating					
At Harvesting.					

10. How many times in all did the VLW visit the plots and talk with you about the RD ? Did he visit you any after the RD was finished ?

11. How many times did the Ag. EO visit the plots and talk with you about the Demonstration ? When was the last time ? What did he do in the Demonstration, if anything (? Last time.............

12. How many times did the BDO visit the plots and talk with you about the demonstration ? When was the last time ? Last time ....didn't visit or talk ....

13. Since the Demonstration have you talked with anyone individually or in groups about the RD ? Yes .... ; No ....
IF YES, with whom , when ?

14. IF ANSWER TO "13" WAS "YES" ; did anyone suggest that you talk to them or to others ? Yes.......... ;No. .... ? IF YES, Whom ?

15. (IF ANSWER TO "13" was "NO") Did anyone ask you to talk any one at any time about the RD ? Yes .... No ....IF YES, Who, when and why did'nt you do so ?

16. Were you convinced by the demonstration of the use and advantage of the practice (s) ? Why or why not ?

17. Have you used to practice (s) involved in the RD since ?
Yes................; No................. Why or why not ?

18. Do you think this Demonstration influenced any farmers who now follow this (these) practice(s)

   1. Among field neighbours ?
   2. Among House Neighbours ?
   3. Among, Choupal, caste, relatives ?
   4. Others.

19. Were any of these who now follow this (these) practice(s) following them before the demonstration ? Yes.......... ; No..........IF YES, what proportion ? Percentage which ?

20. Have you had any other RDs placed on your and (before and after)
Yes............ No .... IF YES, how many ? Number......
Dealing with what ? Do you follow these practices now ?

*21. Has anyone in the block staff worked directly with you on any other project
Yes..............No................IF YES, who, on what, when
Was VLW involved in this in any way ? How ?

*22. With which of the following are you on the best terms ?
SEO............BDO........VLW........Ag. EO ....

23. Has the VLW worked with you in any other ways on any other projects ?
Yes............ ; No..................IF YES WHAT ?

24. What, if anything, have been the main things the VLW has accomplished in your village ? Could't think of any.............

Now, two or three personal items :

25. How old are you age..

26. What schooling have you had ?

27. What is your caste ?..

28. How do you feel about the Community Development Program ?

29. What suggestions, if any, do you have for improving this program ?

GMGIPND—M—58 C.D.&C.—J C 6698—15-1-62—3000.

National Institute of Community Development

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

PRINTED IN INDIA BY THE GENERAL MANAGER, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, NEW DELHI AND PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI, 1962